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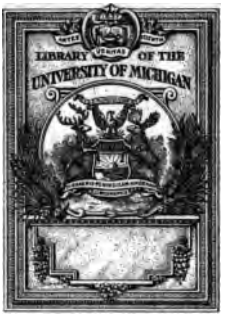

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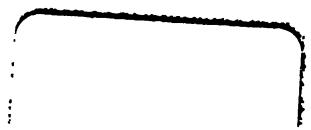

THE WAY OUT.

EXEMPLIFIED PHILOSOPHY.

BY

MOSES SAMELSON.

"Read not to contradict or confute;
Nor to find talk, and discourse;
Nor to believe and take for granted;
But to weigh and consider."

NEW YORK:
THE IRVING COMPANY,
PUBLISHERS.

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PREFACE.

To familiarize the minds of the readers with the object that the author wishes to impress upon them, he has divided his subject matter into three parts, so as to carry out the truism of an accepted axiom "as to creeping before climbing."

Herbert Spencer, one of the greatest of human philosophers, claims that a time comes when the ethics of a people must be changed to conform to the requirements that their new conditions had created; that this occurs more completely and frequently in progressive communities; and is a natural sequence to the developments of nature itself.

"Know thyself" is the most difficult of human acquirements, far more serious of accomplishment than the study of the most abstruse sciences! Yet to "know thyself" is simply to know what nature asks of, and intends of thee. If this is so difficult of securement, what might be thought of the perplexity of the problem, What are nature's total purposes?

Individual man treats the purposes of nature as animal man, not intellectual man. He becomes so wound up in his individuality as often even to doubt that he is but mortal, and appears so confident as to his exclusion and exemption from the dangers that environ the peace, contentment and welfare of total

society, as to give no thought to the natural requirements.

"The Way Out" is to open up to the reasoning of thinking men a proposition which, without subverting existing conditions or possessions, will ameliorate the general conditions of all the people; grow the moral of the people up to the level that the general education and the growth of the sciences imperatively demand, and remove the harsh industrial depressions which constantly disturb all so-called civilization; which too often denies a willing industry which would enable the individual to his own care as to the rights to life itself, and to the natural purposes of life.

In the exposition, in part first of the individual ethics, the author has selected those which have in a sense a direct or an indirect bearing on the causes which lead either to or of the unnatural conditions that mankind is now struggling with; to prove that the ethics which actuate society, so-called, are not in accord with the requirements of progressive humanity, with the demands or the intent of nature, nor with the moral sense which should control all humankind.

In the treatment in part second it is proposed to show, that these constant agitations and difficulties are not the result, as is too largely claimed, of natural causes, but of the selfishness of man, that compels unnatural results in place of natural results from natural causes, so as to satisfy a gnawing vanity or

human folly. Of the perversities of collective man, who persists in maintaining old habits and customs, which prevent his conforming to the growth and changes constantly developing in nature, through the great progress made in the arts and sciences.

In part third, the author claims, lies the proposition itself, in the general acceptation and adoption of which, as the title indicates, lies "The Way Out" whereby "man and nature" will be placed as nature provides, on an harmonious and truthful footing, ameliorating and bettering all human trials and rights, without in anywise disturbing the human ambitions or emulations, or the conditions that mankind has become habituated to, growing mankind closer and truer to the natural requirements.

It is not the fancy of romance, but the hard facts of reality, that is submitted to the earnest minds of thinking men; and though the author used his every endeavor to avoid the use of any harshness, the philosophy may have at times compelled the expression of some severe conclusions, as to the truth, falsity or justice, of claimed or existing ethics; but as personality was always furthest from his thoughts, he hopes that this confession will be a sufficient atonement for any supposed harshness.

In conclusion, he asks all readers, as the title page already requests,

> "Read not to contradict, or confute;
> Nor to find talk, and discourse;
> Nor to believe, and take for granted;
> But to weigh and consider."

INTRODUCTORY.

The fruit that the tree bears is always of the same nature as the seeds and roots from which they come; therefore, as we sow the seed, so shall it bear fruit. When a moral change takes place in a man, when he acquires an idea, when he develops himself individually, he is at once seized with the desire of publishing his sentiment to the world, of externally realizing his idea.

He feels impelled by his instinct to extend and establish in the world the alteration which has taken place in himself. He must have sympathy! he must have results!

To this cause alone the world of society or government is indebted to its many reformations.

The incitement which impels me to give publicity to my thoughts has no other object in view, other than that expressed here; to help enliven and clear up the thoughts of the minds of men to a much needed reformation, and by the means realized to my innermost reasoning; and to avoid even the impugnment of egotism I will express the hope and the belief, that none are too small or insignificant to help work out the doings of a just nature.

The true mathematics of moral philosophy would teach us, that nature governs the world with a just

and equal economy. Therefore, nature should be man's chief rule, to things relating to this world.

Individual man's intense selfishness has hitherto obstructed and avoided the observance of this rule, and parts of collective man often suffer therefrom the pangs of hunger and distress: it is certainly right to eat and drink, and to enjoy what we delight in; but, by the subversion of natural rights, it is often denied us.

The query should be, how to proportion the means to the end? Should one be surfeited, and hundreds want? this conclusion would be both unreasonable and unnatural.

We are living under a system of government, the nature of which is flexible. Why not frame ourselves to the variations of the times, and alter our laws and customs accordingly, and in conformity with the requirements of a progressive nature?

Shall we despair of humanity, of man's capacity for self-government?

Looking backward, wailing over the many wrongs and crimes that have been heaped on ever-struggling humanity, is not in line with intelligent man's purpose; the past is beyond recall, but the rights of the future demand all just men's earnest efforts. Retrospection, as to humanity's wrongs, is usually morbid, but, looking forward, can be made bright with the strong rays of anticipated hope.

Earnest solicitude brings thoughtfulness, and it is to thoughtfulness that the wisdom of the mind finds

true expression. A strong solicitude, coupled with a persistent effort to mend and redeem the wrongs of a long-suffering humanity, cannot and dare not fail of success. Our redemption lies within ourselves. Else we are not men, modeled after those who founded our republic. To us the world of so-called civilization will always be looking for the trial and success of the measures which will insure and finally free all universe from the chains that fetter all progression; which now retards and denies, to too many of humankind, all nature's rights.

That wicked apothegm, often cited in justification of existing and recurring conditions, as to "the survival of the fittest," is a foul blasphemy on the justice and beneficence of nature; that would thereby have created only to destroy. Wit and reason were in vain bestowed on man, if such was the true purpose of man's being.

It is to the age when brute force was the ethic of then existing man, when might superseded all right; when the physical weak was forced to succumb to the physical strong; when claimed chivalry in steel armor, helmet and buckler, and perfected weapons, attacked and destroyed unprotected and exposed man, then prated loudly of its valor. It is to these ages that mankind is indebted to the origin of that shameful aspersion as to the justice of nature itself, "as to the survival of the fittest." Yet present man, when indebted to unjust ethics, if not to underhanded justice, for a pecuniary success, or rather a

market value, never fails when seeking for a justification of existing conditions, and a self-satisfied evidence of individual excellence, to submit a claim as to the truthfulness of that most wicked of all the apothegms, "as to the survival of the fittest."

In reaching the conclusions as embodied in this work, every effort has been used to free my mind of all bias or feeling. We are all shortsighted, and very often see but one side of a matter; our views are seldom extended to all that has a connection with it. Seeing but in part, and therefore knowing but in part, we often conclude from our partial views. It is always useful to talk and consult with others. Impressed with the truthfulness of this conclusion, I searched with earnestness, and I hope a just impartiality and discrimination, into the views and conclusions of many men, of many minds; thinking none of too small consideration to make inquiry of, but was forced to the conclusion that there are not so many men in wrong opinion as is commonly supposed; for the major part had no opinions at all, and did not know what they contended for, merely shouting and pleading for that of which they knew little or naught.

Men, no doubt, are too often governed by prejudices—imbibed from education, party, fashion, interest—prejudices that so dexterously hoodwink their minds as to keep them in the dark. This is the most stubborn enemy that progress has to contend with, for where prejudice lies, reason has no force.

Partisans know how to maintain these prejudices; by appealing to men's passions and interests, by the subtlety of their arguments, which, when added to luxuriance and exuberance of language, still further endangers the judgment, or lack of judgment, of unthinking minds; they avoid all honest reference to any good and convincing arguments which might impugn the justice of their own teachings, and jeopardize their success.

If one's opinions be settled upon a firm foundation, if the arguments that support it be good, clear and convincing, why fear the opinions of others?

In submitting this work to the kind and earnest attention of the public, I must first give full credit to the authors of many just sayings and wordings, that either willingly or unknowingly may have crept fully into my reasonings, giving complete expression to my own conclusions, and using the language of great Shakespeare, "That there is many an event in the keeping of time which will yet be delivered," hope that that event which will disenthrall all suffering humanity from its hardships and injustices will soon be delivered from its harsh environments, and with nature as its inception, and justice as its mentor, fill all universe with peace, good will, and humanity.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE ETHICS.

THE WAY OUT.

I.

ETHICS.

The science of human duty. The rules that have governed this science, especially when applied to political, or its conjunctive social ethics, have been more often false than true.

This has been largely the result of incomplete civilization or immature education. The ethics of a people presumptively contains their precepts of morality. The truthfulness or virtue of that morality will be found to be on a line with the status of the general education.

Nothing good bursts forth all at once. The lightning may dart out of a black cloud, but the day sends his bright heralds before him to prepare the world for his coming.

The fundamental idea contained in the term Civilization or, education, carries with it the sense of improvement, of development, of progression. It immediately conveys the impression of a people going on, not to change its place, but to change its condition; of a people whose condition becomes extended, ameliorated.

What causes this progression, this development?

It is the opening up of the new ethics for which the then existing people are contending. It is the struggle to clear away the cobwebs of the past, and free the mind of man to its new requirements.

It means the perfecting of the civil life, the development of society so-called, of the relations of men among themselves, of conforming to the conditions that nature itself had provided.

Such in fact is the first thought that offers itself to the minds of men, when they utter the word Civilization, or progressive humanity.

They think of the activity, the extension, the higher organization of all social relations. On the one hand, an increasing production of the means of power and prosperity in society; on the other, a juster distribution among individuals of the power and prosperity produced.

Though civilization in its completeness comprehends something more extended, more complex, than the mere perfection of social relations, power and prosperity, the more complete and uniform the distribution among the individuals, of the power and prosperity produced, the closer all humanity will tend to realize a higher civilization.

Individual life, internal life, the development of man himself, of his faculties, of his sentiments, of his ideas, will constantly grow with the prosperity, power, and diffusion among the individual.

This development is never sudden; that would not be in accord with nature itself, which constantly

manifests, in its own inscrutable way, a sure, a slow, but a constant progression.

And the ethics is but one growth of that same nature. So as mankind grows with nature, with education, with civilization, he discovers the errors of his past conclusions and doings; and his efforts determine themselves to a fuller, a freer, a higher, and juster moral ethic.

This is a trait that human nature develops: it encourages the incentive to human ambitions and emulations, and from this seed springs the twig that becomes the tree of true civilization, the development of social activity, the progress of society, the growth of humanity.

It is very clear that the same thing could not be all black and all white at the same time. Yet it is undoubtedly true, that the ethics or morals of past civilization accepted and acknowledged the justice of acts and doings that would be abhorrent to the higher knowledge and education of later civilization. Time, by the reversal of many former conclusions, justifies the correctness of this reasoning, that as nature grows, civilization and education grow, and the ethics or morals must be changed or modified to grow and keep pace with the other conditions.

Wherever the external conditions are extended, vivified and ameliorated, there the internal nature of man displays itself with more brilliancy and grandeur. Wherever it changes the internal man,

his creeds and sentiments, there it regenerates the moral and intellectual man.

That which acts externally upon the condition and being of the individual man, resolves itself correspondingly as to the development of the internal man; the connection being so intimate and unavoidable, that although the effect may not determine an immediate result, they are so inseparable, that, sooner or later, one brings on or acts on the other.

When a great change takes place in the state of a country, when a great development of wealth and of power is occurring, a revolution in the distribution of social prosperity is operating. This new fact meets with adversaries, and undergoes opposition. It could not be otherwise, for this new fact establishes the conclusion that the time has arrived for a change in the ethics that this new condition requires.

But an ethic, a custom, a creed, is not to be changed like a shirt, but only after due and mature deliberation; after exhaustive inquiry and advice, as to its necessity.

The more sacred the cause, the more desperate the contest; and it is often confusing to the mind, why the wisdom and justice of nature prefixes this penalty; but such is the proven history of progressive civilization.

The enemies to any change say, that the progress of the social state does not in the same way ameliorate, regenerate, the moral state, the internal conditions of mankind; that it is a false, deceptive prog-

ress, which turns to the detriment of morality, of human existence.

Those in favor of the social development repulse this attack, maintaining, on the contrary, that the progress of society necessarily brings with it the progress of morality; that when the external life is better regulated, the internal life is rectified and refined.

Do not all rulers, and would-be rulers, constantly promise, that under their guidance, supervision and control, the amelioration and betterment of all the people's conditions, the more equal distribution of prosperity?

This implies that it is the spontaneous, instinctive conviction of men, that social development and moral development are inseparably connected; that at the appearance of the one all rely on the appearance of the other.

It need not necessarily follow that this fact develops itself in immediate consequence; in fact, it seldom does; but like all the doings of nature, in its own good time, in its own inexplicable way. To reap the result, the seed must first be sown. To illustrate:

A revolution is accomplished in the condition of society; it is better regulated; rights and property are divided more equally among individuals—that is to say, the outward appearance of the world is purer and more refined; the actions, whether of government, or of men among themselves, are juster and better.

Can you conceive that this outward appearance, this amelioration of external things, would not react upon the interior of man, upon humanity?

All that has ever been said about the authority of examples, of customs, of exalted models, is founded on nothing else, if not upon this conviction: that an external fact, good, reasonable, well regulated, brings, sooner or later, more or less completely, an internal fact of the same nature, of the same merit.

That a better ruled world, a juster world, makes man himself more just; that the interior is formed by the exterior, as the exterior by the interior; that the elements of civilization are closely united, one with the other.

Obstacles of all kinds may interpose between them; they may submit to many transformations before they are united. That is the law of their nature, the general fact of history, the instinctive belief of mankind.

And this can only be accomplished by the relative change in the ethics which enables the fulfillment of the natural requirements. The existing ethics, based upon the crudities and inaccuracies of earlier education, civilization, and condition of the people, must give way to the march and necessities of advancing progress; the moral, and the sense of right and justice, must grow and keep pace with the general education and progress.

Why are individual qualities less referred to, as a test of character, than performances? Why do men

sacrifice social and private to public character; friendship to fame, sympathy to opinion, love to ambition, and sentiment to propriety?

Because the ethic or moral is defective. Because men and women are appraised at their market, not their intrinsic, value.

A lucky gambler, a profitable invention, a salable book, an effective rhetorical effort, or a sagacious political trick; some fact which proves at best only cunning, trickery, accident, adroitness, or good fortune, is deemed the best escutcheon to lend dignity to life, or hang a lasting memorial upon the tomb.

This dividing line, controlled by what men term success, seems to permeate and run through almost every country, every state, every city, in fact through almost every family. Parent against child, child against parent, children against each other, man against man. It is the wickedness of the ethics to which mankind submits. It is not what have you done to deserve respect, honor, popularity? but what have you got? No matter how acquired, what is the extent of your possessions?

There is always a certain rejoicing sense of clearness in the consistency and the rectitude of justice and truth. There is a noble satisfaction in those victories, which at the bidding of principle, or by the power of self-command, may be achieved over the propensities of animal nature.

And it is only the animal, or the coarsest nature of man, which constantly advances and interposes the

objections to the progress of the ethics; his exclusive selfishness, which is only common to animal nature; a vicious propensity to maintain old standards, the immorality of which had grown as part of his being; standards which had secured unworthy and unjust individual preferments; a knowledge of his own actual inferiority, which a higher ethic would quickly expose; and a great and a growing fear that a higher state of morals, a more general elevation of the masses of the people, would be a great restriction to the exclusiveness and monopoly which he had always enjoyed, are the grounds of such constant and determined opposition.

Yet vice and ignorance can only be banished from the world by the general elevation of the great masses of the people; and this can only accrue through the growth and development of the ethics.

And the tendency of the age, in all its movements, is to expansion, to diffusion, to universality; to encourage the growth and development of the ethics.

This tendency is directly opposed to exclusiveness, restrictiveness, narrowness, or monopoly which has controlled the past; human action is now freer, more unconfined. The privileged, petted individual, is becoming less, the human race becoming more.

The multitude is rising from the dust; once we heard of the few, now of the many; once of the prerogatives of a part, now of the rights of all.

The truth is glimmering through the darkness; a faint consciousness of it has seized on the public

mind; even the most abject portions of society are visited by some dreams of a better condition for which they were designed. The ethics are advancing, slowly changing; nature is completing its destiny of humankind.

All see as never before, through the disguises and envelopments of ranks and classes, to the common nature, which is below them. All are beginning to learn that every being who partakes of life has noble powers to cultivate, solemn duties to perform, inalienable rights to assert, a vast destiny to accomplish. The grand idea of humanity, of the importance of man to man, is spreading silently but surely.

Passions are less frequently assailed, reason more. All the sciences which have for their object the happiness and improvement of the species, the science of government, of political economy, of education, natural and experimental science, are carried far beyond the boundaries possible in former ages. Does not this demonstrate the growth of the ethics? Would the ethics of the ancient Greeks conform to the requirements of the present age?

If the Greeks lived in the infancy of civilization, they of our day may be said to have reached its prime. The vast changes that have taken place during this development may have blunted the vivacity of the imagination, but the human reason has been matured; the credulity of youth has given way to the experience and accumulated knowledge of old age.

The mind of man has taken unto itself the rich inheritance which the sages of antiquity had been ages in accumulating; and to start, as it were, from the very point where they had terminated their career. Thus, raised by learning and experience, it is enabled to take a wider view of its proper destiny —to understand that truth is the greatest good, and to discern the surest method of arriving at it. Hence a new standard of moral excellence must be formed, the ethics must grow.

Intellectual and physical science, instead of floating on vague speculation, as with the ancients, is established on careful induction and experiment, all tendency is toward universality and diffusion.

Take the arts and sciences. Where is science now? Locked up in the libraries, colleges, or inaccessible volumes. Are its experiments mysteries for a few privileged eyes? Are its portals guarded by a dark phraseology, which to the multitude is ancient Greek?

It has now left its retreat, and with familiar tone continues the work of instructing the human race; that which was once exclusively the property of the philosophers, has now become the property of all; once the greatest of distinctions, has now become popular.

The characteristic of the age is not so much the improvement of science, rapid as this is, so much as its extension to all men. The great distinction of

the age is, that science has passed from speculation into life.

It is sought as a mighty power, by which nature is not only opened to thought, but to be subject to our needs. It is conferring on us that dominion over earth, sea and air; and this dominion is now employed, not to exalt a few, but to multiply the comforts and ornaments of life for the multitude of men.

It investigates the laws of social progress, of arts, of institutions, of government and political economy; proposing, as its great end, the alleviation of all human burdens, the weal of all the members of the human race.

Nothing is more characteristic of this age than the vast range of inquiry which is opening more and more to the multitude of men. Thought frees the old bounds to which men used to confine themselves; it holds nothing too sacred for investigation.

This tendency to expansion, to universality, must continue. It is not an accident, or an inexplicable result, or a violence of nature; it is founded on eternal truth. Every mind was made for growth, for knowledge; and its nature is sinned against when it is doomed to ignorance.

It is no doubt true that the conduct of the world seems to be regulated by chance; that the most momentous events are often traced to the most insignificant of causes; that the ripest schemes of wisdom are often baffled by the intervention of the most

trivial of accidents; that the springs of human action are resolved into selfishness. All this is of the phenomena of nature.

Yet the ethic of the world of society is constantly advancing; that the morals, the truthfulness and the conscience of humankind is growing with the ethic.

Romance may picture to the mind's fancy the courage, the honor, the chivalry, and the virtue of past ages; but the cold facts of the unbiased historian reveal the inner and the truthful, of the then existing conditions of humankind as well as of society and nations.

There was much more falsehood, perjury, and insincerity among the people who lived in earlier, ruder, and more babarous states, than among later and more civilized nations.

Virtue is nothing but a more enlarged and a more cultivated reason. It never flourishes in any degree, nor is founded on steady principles of honor, except where a good education becomes general, and where men are taught the pernicious consequences of vice, treachery and immorality.

And it is to the development, the growth of the ethic, that we must look for the fulfillment of nature's requirement, to the demands of a progressive civilization.

Effete and unnatural ethics must not be allowed to retard, to conflict with the natural growth; neither

should the exclusiveness, or the greed of the individual, stay its purpose.

Unnatural, unjust ethics makes unnatural, unjust governments; this permeates the entire body politic, and will carry corruption and all its vile adjuncts through its entire course, until stopped or stayed by the growth of an indignant though trampled virtue.

The time has come for a change in the ethics.

II.

THE ETHIC OF ECONOMY.

The internal, and especially the pecuniary management of any undertaking, corporation, state, or the like, as political economy—"Webster."

The most used, the best abused, and the least understood of all the many words, or terms, contained in the vocabulary of language, is the word or term Economy.

On the borders of economy frugality lies; and frugality has a tendency to illiberality or covetousness. In many minds frugality, with its close ally parsimony, exemplifies a perfect economy; but in the true economy of life, a just economy belongs to the ethic of virtue, parsimony to the ethic of vice.

Economy avoids all waste and extravagance; but extravagance is only such when it can be charged to positive waste; and nothing can be wasteful that gives to humankind any of the comforts, necessities, or gratifications that a generous nature enables. Economy applies money to the best advantage; but money possesses no inherent properties, being simply a medium of exchange, wherewith man arranges for the exchange of all those things that can be contained in the uses, needs, desires, or luxuries of life.

Frugality, too often confounded with economy, cuts off all such indulgences, and proceeds on a system of rigid and habitual savings; frugality but too often develops itself as parsimony, involving meanness of spirit and a sordid mode of life.

Frugality, being on the border line of either economy or parsimony, may lean to one or the other, according to the motive from which it springs; and it is this motive, which determining either to a virtue or a vice, that should excite earnest thought.

The boundaries of virtue are indivisible lines, and true economy belongs to the ethic of virtue. It is impossible to march up close to the frontiers of frugality without entering the territories of parsimony, or into that department of life which of its nature is vicious. This determines the necessity for the acceptation of, and submission to, those ethics which will always incline humankind to the virtues, and not to the vices of life.

Economy, as exemplified by its concurrent allies, belongs to an age when the science of production was as yet of the hidden mysteries, and mankind was in constant dread as to the possibility of want, the result of failure of production. Intercourse and communication being of very tedious and uncertain venture, consequent upon the crude methods of and dangers to transport, all were governed by a supercaution to anticipate and prepare for needs that might arise; under such conditions caution as to consumption might have been justified, although it may

have often determined in result a loss of a virtue or a justice, by refusing the full enjoyment of the natural gifts.

Undoubtedly primitive man was ignorant, coarse and barbarous, and could use but the instincts of his animal nature to provide for any of those of his known animal wants for present or future needs.

This instinct which instructs the providing for future needs and cares is inherent in all living beings, whether human or animal. This can be constantly seen, by noting the care and precision by which the birds or animals of the forest provide for their sustenance, during that season of the year when the course of nature prevents the outbursts of its givings.

With the dawn of knowledge or improvement, man's mind began to open up to the development of the fact, that by the use of the knowledge that he had acquired, and the giving of the industry that nature required, he could, with a fixed degree of certainty, depend upon given results from his industry.

Experience no doubt taught him, that from causes unintelligible to primitive man, there came seasons when the earth refused to yield its harvests; that drouths would burn it in the soil, refusing it growth, or copious rains or floods destroy its purpose.

To this fact no doubt man acquired the habit to which can be conceded the term Economy; to use a caution, at times a supercaution, in the uses of those things which a generous nature provided for to be used, in the fear of a future or a possible want.

That which might be allowed as belonging to the ethic of virtue, in primitive and uneducated man, in this age of progressive science, and the consequent certainties of production, belongs to the ethic of vice.

All humankind are the slaves of habit; habit gives permanence to errors, which ignorance had previously rendered universal. This makes men prompt to confound things which are really distinct, and a desire to adhere to the path to which they had become accustomed.

That which might be allowed as an economy or a virtue, in the individual sense, readily becomes a parsimony or a vice, in the collective sense; for by denying the virtues of nature itself, and developing an illiberality or covetousness, it denies the industry of the whole, without which a reciprocal exchange power cannot be maintained.

If the individual is so far forgetful of his duties to nature as to deny to himself those blessings which a generous nature had conceded, he commits a crime against himself.

A just economy loses its moral sense and purpose when it refuses to acknowledge and utilize to its full extent, for the uses of all, the givings that a beneficent and generous nature provided.

Nature cannot be selfish and isolated in its designs and givings, for all are of its own creation, all of its own purpose; it is not restrictive as to quantity, and its total and continuous productions are impos-

sible of utilization and consumption by the few. Nature does not stay as to its bounty, but shows a constant and a manifest provision by a continuous increase of its manifold productions.

It has often perplexed the mind of thinking man, why an all-wise nature so diffuses its generous givings as to make possible a want among many of its own and its highest creation. More serious the perplexity, when in the natural economy of the animal creation no want appears to lie, but all seems to be carefully provided for.

This condition is not, however, of the phenomena of nature, into the sea of which the short line of man cannot reach; but is the result of the selfishness, the perversity, and the false economy of man, who constantly persists in perverting the natural laws to gratify a pernicious and gnawing vanity and human folly.

In the animal creation its instinct teaches it where and how to provide for its sustenance. In the human, his instinct, coupled with his knowledge, also teaches him how, and where, to seek his sustenance, but demands his industry as a reciprocal exchange. A willingness to industry, is, however, too often denied him, and he is thereby refused a sustenance which nature offers, but which individual man and government refuses to enable.

Selfish man, to whom unnatural ethics and unjust laws had enabled more than his possible wants or needs, or his honest industry alone could have allowed

him to acquire, claims that this is in conformity to nature itself; that it is not novel to the experience of growing man, that this condition is coexistent with nature, and belonged to the natural economy of all material things.

That its truthfulness and necessity was evidenced in the animal, as well as in the human creation; that the big fish of the sea subsisted on the little fish; that the weak was compelled to submit to the strong; that such a condition was the natural condition belonging to that phenomenon of nature as to "the survival of the fittest."

The fallacy and wickedness of these propositions are so self-evident as scarcely to deserve the credit of being submitted to the domain of reason or human philosophy.

To attribute to nature a predisposition in favor of any of its own, and of its highest creation, is a blasphemy of almost too foul a conception to demand a contradiction or a reasoning; it belongs to a branch of that school of ethics, of prejudice, of ignorance, that has so long darkened the world.

That taught, or caused to be taught, the teachings that classes, nobles, and kings were creations of an order superior to themselves, and that the sun could not shine, or the earth yield a bountiful harvest, were such their will.

Teachings such as these would not be in accord with the ethics of this age, and the general knowledge and education of the people.

To deduce a conclusion on the base of an equality, as to the human and the animal creation, is a further blasphemy on the object of nature's purposes.

To humankind was endowed the gift of reason, of preconception, of predisposition, of knowledge, of its utilization. Animal creation was given by nature to man to his uses, to subserve man's purposes; humankind being the highest, the noblest, and the completed conception of the natural purposes.

Yet animal creation does not take more than its needs for its animal or its physical purposes; if it takes more than its physical necessities require, if it gorges itself, it will at once pay the penalty of its indiscretion in the suffering or destruction that would be its accompaniment. Its natural instinct satisfies itself with its own sufficiency. Thus it develops a true economy, by taking and enjoying all that its nature calls for, and a just nature affords.

Under present ethics, man's laws, or man's economics, are not as provident as those of the animal creation; man's instinct and acquired knowledge instructs and advises him as to the extent of his physical requirements; but through the injustice and inequities of his immoral ethics, his unjust laws, and his false reasonings as to a true economy, he too often denies to his fellow-man the same physical requirements.

In this the animal creation presents a wiser determination than the human, never interfering with the surplus after satisfying its own needs.

If the ethics, or the laws of man, were to encourage a true economy, which would enable the industry of the whole, of all who were willing and desirous of industry, it would in nowise destroy the natural stimulus to human ambitions or emulations.

It would in nowise lessen, but would increase the collective wealth and possessions. It need in nowise lessen any of the individual accretions, where such was the human ambition. But would cultivate a greater economy by enabling and encouraging a fuller utilization of the givings of nature, by enabling and encouraging a still further production.

A true economy lies in using, to its fullest extent, all of those givings which a generous nature affords without waste.

It is not expressed as a waste for man to improve or beautify his possessions or lands, to develop and heighten the effect of its beauty in landscape or garden scenery, in constructing palatial mansions for his dwelling beyond the actual necessity of his need, in submitting to its finish all that art or fancy can design, in furnishing and decorating the same with all that art and science, industry and ingenuity, can devise, in securing for his sustenance, gratification and pleasure all that his sense of taste can desire, in providing as his raiment the best that skill can produce; it is not expressed as a waste, but a utilization of the gifts of nature.

He who so utilizes and enjoys these great gifts, and employs the industry of his fellow-man to secure

their production and realization, (without inquiring as to the means that were employed to obtain the reciprocal exchange value which enabled its securement), is considered as of public virtue, and of public benefaction.

Could the land or the people be impoverished, the natural bounties be insulted, the virtue of man be lessened; were public roads, parks, gardens, museums, colleges, libraries, statuary, works of art, so multiplied and increased, as to be a constant joy and delight to the sight and the uses of man?

"A thing of beauty is a joy forever!"

Can a land be impovished in which its possessions would be constantly augmenting? Possessions cannot augment without industry.

Will the soil, will nature, refuse sustenance because industry is willing and doing?

Can aught which is virtue and justice in individual man be aught but virtue and justice in collective man?

Can economy be true economy when it is frugality or parsimony; when it becomes a vice in place of a virtue; by refusing the gifts of nature by denying a required and a willing industry?

Economy, as expressed by government as society, is a wicked inheritance from crude and immatured civilization; it is a relic of the earlier ages; it is held in force by custom, habit, false teaching, and an ignorance and a vice that constantly fears the exposure of its own wickedness. It is not in touch with

the great and continuous progress constantly developing in all the arts and sciences.

The tendency of this constant progress should be, and is intended by nature itself, to equalize conditions, to abolish all distinctions, but those that are founded on truth and reason; to limit the reign of brute force, and uncontrollable accidents.

Opinions that take past experiences or information as their guide, and claim that man's allotment cannot be changed, but is in line with nature itself, are false and unthinking.

These fixed and accepted opinions, or conclusions, are evidence of nothing but their own existence. Nature distinctly and promptly repudiates their claim to truth.

They merely repeat the teachings and doings of those who have preceded and gone before us; both nature and growing man constantly repudiate the doings, the ethics, the injustices, of those who were our predecessors on this stage of life.

One cannot read who never saw an alphabet; as man follows nature, he learns of that which is intended for man. He must be guided by his acquired, his accumulated knowledge, not by the rules or laws that governed earlier and more ignorant ages.

It must never be forgotten that all humankind are rational beings. The condition of the accidental unfortunate or ignorant, the result of man's perversities, not nature's denials, demands man's relief. Man must change his customs, and his laws, and

comply with nature's provisions, nature's requirements.

He must adopt those intelligent precepts of justice which will allow to all humankind an industry which will fully enable their own maintenance, and their rights to the enjoyment and requirements of a just nature. And this can be accomplished without disturbing the equilibrium of society, as effected.

Maintain a just and a true economy, submit to natural ethics, give man industry so that he may live in conformity with the requirements and the law of nature.

III.

CONSCIENCE.

The faculty, power or principle which decides on the lawfulness, or unlawfulness, of our actions and affections, and approves or condemns them; the moral faculty; the moral sense.

Is conscience inherent with man? is it part of his birth or nature? or is it the growth of his education and environments? is it the result of the moral influences which surround him?

Can aught which displays mankind in its nakedness, in any of its actions, be separated from its own nature? Can the higher, or the moral sense, control and govern the natural or the animal sense, namely, the human passions?

Were the human passions or senses absolutely subject to the control of what man calls his intellect or his education, nature would become subject to man, not man to nature; this would again imply perfect man or nature itself.

Were the human passions absolutely uncontrollable, intelligence, education, good and moral example, would fail of effect, as man's power of guidance would be of no avail or purpose.

The best of parents, exercising to the fullest ex-

tent the education and the moral welfare of their children, have been filled with sorrow and distress through the failure of all their earnest efforts.

The offspring of the most illiterate and immoral of parents have often developed as the most noble and worthy of humanity.

These facts are not to be accepted as a necessary consequence, but simply to evidence the conclusion, that education and moral surroundings do not, or cannot, always control the nature of man.

Still, the growth or progress of civilization, or culture, fully demonstrates that the moral sense, the moral faculty of man, is closely interwoven and grows with the growth of education; binding together, as one, the nature and the conscience of man; this conclusion must be accepted in the collective, not in the individual sense.

Though conscience, as expressed and understood, will always be subject to nature itself, from the power of good that it contains within itself, the natural tendency will be to grow man's nature up to his conscience: this is a phenomena of nature itself.

That the influence of the parental character on the child is great hardly admits of disputation. Still it is not absolute. Nature, or causes of nature, may counteract the influence.

Everything around us has an influence on us. We may become so impressed by that which we see and hear, that by constant familiarity we may become insensibly urged on to principles and feelings which

we before abhorred. A drop of water seems to have no influence on a stone, but constant drops will finally wear its way through.

The child will no doubt see and reflect on the parent's intentions; and this will have great influence on its mind. Yet this influence may be afterward counteracted. But that only proves that contrary currents had arisen, and carried the child another way; its conscience was not equal to the force of its nature.

There are influences which environ humanity too subtle for the dissecting knife of reason. Reason is not the only interpreter of life. The fountain of action lies in the feelings.

How, then, can we discover whether conscience is an inheritance or an education? Whether it is a fact, or an acquirement? Whether the one is an essential, a necessary, or a consonant part, without which the other cannot be?

Education is in a large sense an acquirement; but it is an acquirement, the result of nature itself! If nature had not bestowed on man the power of thought or reason, he could not have discovered how to utilize and grow the gifts that nature had within itself.

Man's conscience, or his inner self, no doubt becomes enlarged and vivified through education; but it is to the feelings of man, the internal as well as the external sense, that we must first look for the causes that control his action. It is to the nature

of man that all thought must finally resolve itself. To illustrate:

There is an innate contentment in the thought of having done what we feel to be right; there is a felt discomfort, sometimes a bitter or remorseful agony, in the thought of having done what we feel to be wrong.

This implies a sense of the rectitude of what is virtuous; and this is conscience! but, aside from the rightness of the act, there is in the virtuous act itself another and a distinct enjoyment.

There is a pleasure in the knowledge of doing what we ought: besides the pleasure appended to benevolence as a moral sentiment, there is a sensation in the merely physical affection of benevolence; and that sensation of itself is in the highest degree pleasurable.

The instant gratification that there is in the direct and immediate feeling of benevolence is one thing; the reflex gratification which there is in the consciousness of benevolence as moral, is another thing.

The two are distinct of themselves; but the close union of them, in the case of every virtuous affection, gives a multiple force to the conclusion, that nature is the lover, and therefore the patron, or the rewarder, of virtue.

Our nature is so constituted that, in the very flow and exercise of the good affections, there shall be the oil of gladness. There is instant delight in the first conception of a good. There is sustained de-

light in its continued exercise. There is completed delight in the happy and prosperous result of it. This is conscience.

Nature hath annexed a high mental enjoyment, not to the consciousness only of good affections, but to the very sense and feelings of good affections.

Conscience is virtue, morality; and virtue and morality are parts of nature, as expressed by the pleasurable natural feelings, realized from the exercise of their parts.

Kindness, honesty and truth are of themselves, and irrespective of their rightness, sweet unto the taste of the inner man. Malice, envy, falsehood, injustice, irrespective of their wrongness, have of themselves the bitterness of wormwood.

The acts of virtue form two pleasurable sensations, instead of one. This is nature's reward. However closely these two sensations may follow on each other, however implicated or blended together they may be at the same moment into one compound feeling, they are not the less distinct on that account of themselves.

And their opposition, in the case of every virtuous act or desire, shows us that very concurrence in the world of mind, that obtains with such frequency and fullness in the world of matter, affording in every new part that is added, not a simply repeated only, but a vastly multiplied evidence for design, throughout all its combinations. Thus nature instructs man as to his well being.

There is a pleasure in the very sensation of virtue; and there is a pleasure attendant on its sense of rectitude. This is of the phenomena of nature, and these two phenomena are independent of each other.

Let there be a certain number of chances against the first, in a random economy of things; and also a certain number of chances against the second. In the actual economy of things, where there is the conjunction of both phenomena, it is the product of these two numbers, which represent the amount of evidence afforded by them, for a moral government in the world, and a moral governor over them.

In the calm satisfaction of virtue this distinction may not be so palpable, as in the pungent and more vividly felt disquietudes which are attendant on the wrong affections of our nature.

The perpetual corrosion of that heart, for example, which frets in unhappy peevishness all the day long, is plainly distinct from the bitterness of that remorse which is felt in the recollections of its harsh and injurious outbreakings on the innocent sufferers within its reach.

It is saying much for nature itself, that it has placed a conscience within us, which administers painful rebuke on every indulgence of a wrong appetite.

It is saying still more, that it has so framed our mental constitution, that in the very working of these bad affections there should be the painfulness of a felt discomfort and discordancy.

Yet such is the make or mechanism of our nature, that it is thwarted, and put out of sorts, by rage, by envy, and by hatred.

And this irrespective of the adverse moral judgment which conscience passes upon them. Of themselves they are unsavory; and no sooner do they enter the heart than they shed upon it an immediate distillation of bitterness.

Just as the placid smile of goodness bespeaks the felt comfort of benevolence:

So in the frown and tempest of an angry countenance do we read the unhappiness of that man who is vexed and agitated by his own malignant affections, eating inwardly, as they do, on the vitals of his enjoyment.

The delights of virtue in itself is a separate thing from the delights of the conscience which approves it.

And the pain of moral evil in itself is a separate thing from the pain inflicted by conscience in the act of condemning it.

They offer to our notice two distinct ingredients, both of the present award attendant upon virtue, and of the present penalty attendant upon vice; and so enhance the evidence that is before our eyes for the moral character of that administration under which the world has been placed by nature.

This further justifies the conclusion, that conscience is part of nature itself, not simply an educational acquirement.

The appetite of hunger is rightly alleged in evidence of the care wherewith nature hath provided for the well being of our natural constitution.

And the pleasurable taste of food is rightly alleged as an additional proof of the same.

So if the urgent voice of conscience within, calling us to virtue, be alleged in evidence of the care wherewith nature hath provided for the well being of our moral constitution, the pleasurable taste of virtue in itself, with the bitterness of its opposite, may well be alleged as additional evidence thereof.

It is the office of a conscience to tell us of its rectitude. It is by experience, by education, that we learn of its utility.

But the sweetness of it is a thing of instant sensation. If it be a proof of benevolence in nature, that our external organs of taste should have been so framed as to have a liking for wholesome food, it is no less the proof of both a benevolent and a righteous nature, so as to have framed our mental economy, so that right and wholesome morality should be palatable to the taste of the inner man. And this inner self is our conscience.

Virtue is not only seen to be right, it is felt to be right. There is an independence of spirit in the consciousness of having nothing to hide, and nothing to be ashamed of.

In a word, by the constitution of our nature, each virtue has its appropriate charm. He who hath imbibed its spirit, and is under the guidance of its

principles, feels all health and harmony within; and without he seems to breathe in an atmosphere of greater purity; proving conclusively how much the nature of man, and the nature of virtue, are in unison with each other.

Yet it is education and inculcation which helps us grow in the knowledge, that it is to the virtues alone that humankind can hope for that peaceful contentment of the inner and the outer self that all humankind seek.

Though none are privileged to swerve from what is virtuous, just and honest, some have much more obligation to be so than others; th y have tasted of higher dispensations, more gained upon by mercies, illuminated by more radiant knowledge, wherein they better understand wherein to be so.

Indeed, without knowledge it is sometimes impossible to understand wherein to do right. It is hunger which urges us to the use of food. But it strikingly demonstrates the care and benevolence of nature, so to have framed the organ of taste, as that there shall be a superadded enjoyment in the use of it.

It is conscience which urges us to the practice of virtue; but it serves to enhance the proof of a moral purpose, that our mental economy was so framed that, in addition to the felt obligation of its rightness, virtue should of itself be regaling to the taste of the inner man.

In counterpart to the delights and satisfaction of virtue, is the essential and inherent bitterness of all that is morally evil.

Let it be assumed that with this particular argument the pains of remorse are to be omitted.

It is the wretchedness of vice in itself, not of the wretchedness which is suffered because of its recollected and felt wrongness.

It is not the painfulness of the compunction felt because of our anger, but the painfulness of the emotion itself. And this remark applies to all the desires of the human heart.

It is true that it is inseparable from the very nature of a desire, that there must be some enjoyment or other at the time of its gratification.

But in the case of these evil affections it is not an unmixed enjoyment.

All must be sensible, even at the moment of wreaking in full indulgence of one's resentments, on any who has provoked or injured him, that all is not perfect and entire enjoyment within.

That in this as in every other malignant feeling there is a sore burden of disquietude, an unhappiness, tumultuating in the heart, and visibly pictured on the countenance.

The tyrant who has only to issue his order and strike dead at pleasure the victim of his wrath, with any circumstance of cruelty or caprice, which his passion or his power might suggest, may be said to have experienced through life a thousand gratifications in the solaced rage and revenge which, though ever breaking forth, he can appease again, every day of his life, by some new execution.

Yet, in spite of these distinct and numerous gratifications, his life must be one of fierce and internal agony.

It seems indispensable to the nature of every desire, and to form part indeed of its very idea, that there should be a distinctly felt pleasure, or at least a removal at the time of a distinctly felt pain, in the act of fulfillment; yet whatever recreation or relief may have been rendered, without driving away the misery inflicted upon us by the evil propensities of our nature.

Who can doubt, for example, the unhappiness of the habitual drunkard? and that although the ravenous appetite by which he is driven along a stormy career meets every day, almost every hour of the day, with the gratification that is suited to it.

The same may be equally affirmed of the voluptuary, of the depredator, of the extortioner, or of the liar. Each may succeed in the attainment of his specific object, and we cannot possibly disjoin from the conception of success, the conception of some sort of pleasure. Yet in perfect consistency it can be affirmed, with a sad and heavy burden, of an unpleasantness or unhappiness on the whole.

All conversant with nature know of many a passion belonging to it that may be the instrument of many pleasurable sensations, and yet be a wretched passion still.

A sense of guilt is one main ingredient of this misery. Yet physically, and notwithstanding the

pleasure, or the relief inseparable at the moment from every indulgence of the passions, there are other sensations of bitterness, which of themselves and apart from remorse, would cause the suffering to preponderate.

There is much to be distinguished between the final object of our desires and the pleasures attendant on, or rather inseparable from their gratification.

The object is not the pleasure, though the pleasure be an unfailing and essential accompaniment on the attainment of the object.

This is illustrated by the appetite of hunger, of which it were more proper to say, that it seeks for food, than that it seeks for the pleasure which there is in eating the food. The food is the object, the pleasure is the accompaniment.

The same is true of all our special affections. Each has a proper and peculiar object of its own, and the mere pleasure attendant on the prosecution or indulgence of the affection is not that object.

The two are as distinct from each other as a thing loved is distinct from the pleasure of loving it.

Every special inclination has its special counterpart object. The object of the inclination is one thing, the pleasure of gratifying the inclination is another; and in more instances it were more proper to say, that it is for the sake of the object than for the sake of the pleasure, that the inclination is gratified.

Conscience, however, must not be confounded with instinct. Instinct can only be fully implied or ex-

pressed as referring to that feature of existence or being by which its actions are governed by the dangers or necessities of its own care. It is also of the phenomena of nature.

But instinct is animal in its nature, mechanical in its execution, not moral. It finds its law in the precept of self-protection or preservation.

It may be contended that many of the doings of animal creation show a system, a judgment and a completion as to their acts, that is difficult to attribute to pure animal mechanism, the result of their instinct; but rather a precision, a foreordination, that looks like reason. This is also of the phenomena of nature.

Reason, it is claimed, exists only in man, the highest in order in nature's creation.

Man doubtless has his instincts even in common with the inferior animals, and this, when instantly effected, may also result from pure mechanical execution. When not of too quick purpose it might be enlightened by his reason. But the act of instinct seems to imply and carry within itself the caring for the physical necessities or wants of the being, not the moral.

That a close affinity constantly lies as between conscience and instinct need not be questioned. The growth and the care of the animal or physical life must always encourage and cultivate the higher perfection of the moral life, growing man closer to nature itself.

The growth and development of the human conscience will always maintain itself with the enlarged growth of the general education, and can only realize its full life when the ethics, which will govern the whole world of society, is founded and controlled only by truth, justice and equality.

IV.

UTOPIA.

Utopia is not within the range of present man. Man is but one of the parts of nature, created to complete its unity. Utopia cannot be realized except man were perfect, or nature itself.

To realize this there must be a perfect harmony, a veritable Garden of Eden.

Whence arises the harmony that strikes us even in the wildest of natural scenery; in the colors of the heaths, ferns, and lichens; in the leaves of the beech and the oak; the stems and the rich brown branches of the beech and other mountain trees, varying from verging autumn to returning spring? Whence but that it is effected and governed, as it were, by a single energy, modified and acted upon in each and every component part, throughout its entire being.

Were that unity of feeling and action everywhere among men, that has its foundation, not in the factitious necessity of custom, but in nature itself, it were possible to reach a conclusion toward that sum of human happiness which would alleviate human suffering, but could not realize Utopia.

And what is this visionary conception of Utopia

but those social arrangements whereby the happiness and improvement of man may be secured to the fullest extent to which human nature is susceptible.

To secure this Utopian conception there would have to be a community of interests, in which all would belong to all, all would work for all, all be contented with the bare necessaries of life, all employed in equal labor, all clothed in the same raiment as to quantity, quality, and durability.

In this dream of Eden wants would be few, none would be idle, and but little effort would be needed to fulfill all the labor demanded.

In this garden of delight neither laziness nor avarice would find a place, for why be indolent when there is so little toil? why greedy when there is abundance for each?

Would this be compatible with the qualities inherent in human nature.

Nature as represented by man is so various and dissimilar in its desires, purposes, and creation, as to deny the harmony necessary and essential to a community of interests.

Were all alike rich that would be the overthrow of all labor, and the utter decay of work.

To maintain life in a desirability, to maintain the harmony that nature demands, all must be kept in activity, in motion; to maintain physical welfare or health all must labor, and the occupation should be chosen suitable to the natural faculties. Is such an Utopian community as this conceivable? It is with

man as with all things in nature; it is only by action, by motion, that they are preserved in their native purity and perfection, in their sweetness, in their luster; without action, without labor, they would become defiled and corrupted.

If the water runs it remains sweet, clear, and fresh, but stagnation turns it into a ranksome puddle; if the air is fanned by winds, it is pure and wholesome, but in being shut up, it grows thick and putrid; if metals are employed, they remain smooth and bright, but lay them by and they soon contract rust.

If the earth is belabored with culture, it yields up its productions, but neglect it and it will overgrow with brakes and thistles; and the better the soil is the ranker will be the weeds.

All nature is held up in its state by constant action; and what is man but part of nature?

The laws of nature are to mankind that which the sun is to plants, while it cherishes and preserves them. Where they are not clouded or suppressed everything smiles and flourishes, but where they are everything withers and decays.

They secure man not only against one another, but also against themselves. They are a sanctuary to which the highest and the lowest have a duty as well as an interest to preserve.

In many things we may sound nature, but only in the shallows of her revelations. A step too far and we get beyond man's depth. Much is gained by studious inquisition, but much more will ever rest

which man cannot disover. Therefore never question the purposes of nature's methods of development toward a completed perfection.

We have now reached a condition of civilization when nothing but the adoption of a new code of ethics, adapted to the natural requirements, will allow of men to live in harmony and peace with each other.

It took centuries to discover and people new lands, whereby they secured further titles, further purposes of life, staying the conditions which are now culminating with such great rapidity.

Centuries back it was already evident that it required only the manual labors of a part of society to provide for the necessary sustenance of all; this constantly tempted man to new discoveries.

This fact, however, demolishes the philosophy, or the need of that ethic which proposes to equalize the conditions of man by putting all idleness to the tilling of the soil to secure the sustenance of life.

It is not production which is deficient for all men's uses and needs, but proper diffusion of that which already exists.

To avoid men's idleness and allow them to live in harmony with each other, through the phenomena of nature to carry out its purpose; to man was given the human mind, to invent the useful arts and sciences, and complete the possibility of a world of delights for man to enjoy.

This could not possibly be in consonance with the

realization of an Utopia (that visionary dream of all species of Communism, Socialism, Nationalism, or its affiliated sophistry of Single Land taxism), for in Utopia there would be no incentive for man to develop further industries, or further perfect or develop the fullness of an already generous nature.

A uniformity of mind, of nature, of wants, of needs, a plenty for the small desires of all men, will have completed the full purposes of nature, and the whole attainment of man's ambition.

Is man prepared to realize and accept Utopia? Philosophy need not reply. Let man's nature answer.

What is the pleasure of eating, but that the human health, which had been weakened, does with the assistance of food drive away hunger; and so recruiting itself secures its former vigor; and being thus refreshed it finds a pleasure in the conflict.

And if the conflict is pleasure the victory must yet breed a greater pleasure; but this pleasure cannot be realized except through nature's requisite, the action of man, or man's industry.

And shall man be denied the pleasure and the necessity of eating because the ethics are such that he cannot obtain his necessity; because he may be unable to secure and give a reciprocal exchange?

And the result of the ethic such that it will not enable his securing the reciprocal exchange, no matter how willing, anxious or desirous he may be to do so?

The pain of hunger must give us the pleasure of

eating, and here the pain outbalances the pleasure; and as the pain is more vehement, so it lasts much longer; for as it is upon us before the pleasure comes, so it does not cease but with the pleasure that eating gives it. Yet we gratefully acknowledge the tenderness of that nature which has planted in us appetites, that these things which are necessary for our preservation are likewise made pleasant to us.

To be compelled to reject the pleasures and delights of life by a large part of mankind, all a part of the same beneficent nature, through the course, and the cause of man's ethics, is both cruel to mankind and ungrateful to nature.

More particularly when no better end is to be accomplished than to better prepare a small part of society to bear those misfortunes which possibly will never happen.

Yet such is the action of individual man under present ethics.

If you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn, and if, instead of each picking where and what it liked, in accordance with its own nature, taking just as much as it wanted and no more, you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got into a heap, reserving nothing for themselves but the chaff and the refuse, keeping this heap for one, and that perhaps the weakest, worst pigeon of the flock, sitting round and looking on all the winter, while this one was devouring, throwing about and wasting it, or allowing it to go to waste; and if a pigeon

more hardy or hungry than the rest, touched but a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it, and tearing it to pieces—if you should see this you would see nothing more than is every day practiced and established among men; and is this in accordance with the laws of nature?

Has this bounteous nature given us a land teeming with good things, and made the sun bring forth a spontaneous plenty, only that man should suffer for that which had been given us—or is it the refinement of man's cruelty, ever at war with nature's works, that has changed this scene of profusion and luxuriance into a theater of want and misery?

Among men you see the ninety-and-nine toiling and scraping together a heap of superfluities for one, and this one too often the feeblest and the worst of the whole set—at times a madman, often a fool—getting nothing for themselves all the while but a little of the coarsest of the production, which their own industry produced; looking quietly on while they see the fruits of all their labor, either hoarded, spent or spoilt; and if one of their number take or touch a particle of the hoard, the others joining against him, and punishing him for the same.

Yet these are the practical outcomes of the ethics under which man carries out the purposes of life.

Evidently such was not the purposes of nature that enables man to grow so rapidly in the progress of the arts and sciences, as to always enable a more

than sufficiency to supply all mankind with the uses, needs, desires, and luxuries of life.

Inequality of property, in the degree in which it exists in most all so-called civilized nations, is an absolute and a positive evil.

It is an evil, however, only from the fact that it flows from a system of unnatural ethics, which govern the acquisition and disposition of property.

Were these ethics natural ethics, which would not interfere with the physical welfare and industry of the whole, an inequality of property would constitute the surest safeguard, security, and even happiness of the whole community, by retaining as the essential to the progress of civilization, and the higher perfection of humankind.

Of those incentives to an always still greater human ambition and emulation, that would allow man to grow, as man's increased knowledge sees nature grow, fuller, brighter, purer.

This would be more intelligent to man's purpose in life than a contemplation of a possible Utopia, which could only be a communistic or socialistic experiment, and could not be realized until man was complete and perfect nature itself, and the purposes of his existence of no further natural object.

The adoption of a new code of natural ethics in conformity with the natural requirements, which would enable the industry of the whole, allow the full purpose of the natural bounties, ensure soci-

ety's security—would dispel even the necessity of an Utopian dream, encouraging all mankind to live in harmony and plenty with each other, and in accord with their natural abilities and desires.

Utopia is not within the range of present man.

V.

ETHIC OF CHARITY.

Charity must not be confounded with humanity. There is but one true charity: those noble acts which spring from the soul's desire to assist humankind in nature's development and exigencies.

But this is not charity as it is expressed and understood by most mankind—it is pure humanity.

What, then, is charity as expressed by man? Is it a requirement of nature, or a creation of man? Could charity be provident were nature improvident? Ostentation is not charity; the flourish of trumpets, that usually precedes ostentation, does not indicate purity of heart, but rather vanity of mind.

All that nature asks of man as a reciprocal exchange value for its bounties is his industry. Without industry nature would not be provident.

If nature, through that feature of its phenomena which instructs through the mind of man, that accident or science which teaches man how to fructify and increase its own productions; it cannot be said that its purpose was to create a more than sufficiency of all man's needs, so that plethora should be the portion of some, insufficiency that of others; for this would indicate individual care and preferment. This would not be nature.

But its purpose must be to enable man to enjoy and delight in a further and a greater use of its many bounties than had been accorded more primeval man.

Therefore all improvements in the industries should give man a greater leisure time to seek further in the natural development.

Of what purpose can it be to individual man to gather and hold an immense overplus of that which he cannot possibly consume, so that his more needy or more proscribed fellow shall be denied that which he needs.

Is the error of those who do this any different than of those who hide their possessions, out of the fear of losing it? Yet both commit the same error; for in both cases it is cut off from being useful, and yet the one having hidden it carefully is glad because he thinks he is now sure of it; and in case one should come to steal it, the owner, though he might live ten years after that, would all that while after the theft of which he knew nothing, find no difference between his having it or losing it, for both ways it was equally useless to him.

"He that is robbed—not wanting what is stolen—
Let him not know it, and he's not robbed at all."

Do not these examples contain the actions of individual man, as exemplified under the doings of man's laws, as exacted under present ethics, and which are in direct contrariety of what would be the effects of

natural ethics, as taught us by nature's action, which has filled the earth with a sufficiency for all to enjoy?

Yet when man makes conditions such as these, reversing the conditions of nature, in place of adjusting and conforming himself to the natural requirements, and which would avoid repetitions of the same inequalities, with a flare of trumpets and a great display of his own goodness, of the giving of a little of that which was of no use to him, and which nature gave for all—he loudly prates of charity.

It is an adjustment of the ethics that would allow the industry of the whole, that man needs—not so-called charity.

If your friend is in want don't carry him to the saloon and treat yourself as well as him. This might entail a further thirst, and a consequent headache. To treat a poor wretch with a bottle of wine, is like giving a pair of cuffs to a man who has no shirt on his back. Give him something to do, give him work so that he can put something in his pocket and enable his own reciprocal exchanges.

Accident or sickness may so act on man's physical abilities as to prevent his industry, therefore provident nature made humanity possible that man should care for disabled man; but humanity is never ostentatious.

Physically able and virtuous man does not want so-called charity; he demands industry—nature's inheritance.

The tendency of this so-called charity is meretri-

cious in all its bearings, because offensive in its publicity and givings. First, it destroys man's sensitiveness, then his usefulness, then his manhood. From his state of industry and virtue he is led, step by step through the action of this pernicious and false economy, to a condition that destroys even the incentive to life.

It encourages and creates a nation of tramps and paupers, destroying their usefulness and manhood. If such conditions are not stayed through the intelligence and wisdom of collective man, it must finally lead to the disruption of all society.

Do not draw the cords of society so hard that a convulsion must come to burst them; do not cast away creatures as useless before you have tried their utility. You will find that creatures who are held simply as dross want but the hand of a refiner to find pure gold.

Industry of the whole can never be maintained through the charity, or the demand and employ by the individual. First, because the improvements in the arts enables a full production without their employ, and their further employ by the individual would still further depress values, which the interest of individual man cannot encourage.

It would be impractical of execution because the idle, who would be constantly increasing, could not be kept in idleness and security though charity, for idleness leads to vice.

Because it is not in accord with the different na-

tures of individual man, as many would refuse to give even a so-called charity, of which they had an excessive and useless surplus, and would throw the onus on those probably the least able, though the most willing.

Because it would be contrary to the laws of commerce, which prevails over all so-called civilization, which demands a reciprocal exchange value of man's uses and needs, so as to protect and maintain values, while the charity would assist toward depreciating values.

Because contrary to equity which demands its equal rights; contrary to that economy which maintains, by the industry of the whole, a means whereby the natural requirements are fulfilled, and the ability given all men to enable a full and equable exchange value to all their uses and needs.

It is to a system of false and immoral ethics that conditions arise which makes what is called charity possible or necessary.

Adjust the ethics of man to the requirements of advanced civilization, make the ethics natural ethics, and the sun will shine upon a happy and a prosperous people.

Suppress the needs of so-called charity—give man industry, so he may live.

VI.

THE ETHIC AS TO SUFFRAGE.

A voice given in deciding a controverted question; or in the choice of a man for an office or trust; the formal expression of an opinion, assent, vote.

The giving or the allowance of a suffrage has always been largely determined by the nature and the system of government under which its system of a suffrage is exercised.

In earlier governments this right to a suffrage was very restrictive, man generally having been held under a despotism, a feudality, or a slavery.

As education or information was very limited or crude, classes were very marked and distinctive; and it was only to such whose rights by birth, inheritance or brute strength, compelled an attention, or an authority, that were in anywise consulted, as to the disposition of either themselves, their possessions, or their natural rights.

In an absolute despotism, the voice as to the exercise of the right to a suffrage must of necessity have been very restrictive, both as to the number and the class of the subjects allowed to its exercise, and this right can and does only grow with the increase of the

power, and the knowledge or education of the subjects, and the loss of the equal power to the ruler or rulers.

In what might be expressed as a constitutional monarchy, this class and number would be largely extended, as the term constitutional monarchy would of itself imply that the tenure of the monarchy itself was held under restrictions, which should not, or could not, impair the conceded rights of the subjects; and these rights must of themselves include the right to a suffrage, as to their internal government.

These rights, however, even in constitutional monarchies, have been largely restricted as to classes. Classes representative of either a claimed superiority as to birth, for services that had benefited government, or ownership of certain wealth or property possessions, were those to whom the rights to a suffrage were first conceded.

A tenacious and stubborn opposition has constantly manifested itself among those already possessing the rights to a suffrage to its further extension to other subjects; the opposition being always based upon the fear that it might in some wise restrain, restrict, or otherwise interfere with their then existing power or control. This motive, as can readily be conceived, is purely selfish, and in nowise bears upon the question as to its equity or justice.

The extension of the rights to a suffrage carries the conviction that there were subjects who were restrained and denied from what should be their nat-

ural rights and privileges; but who were nevertheless subjected to all of the penalties and duties demanded, claimed, and imposed on them.

That their clamor for the allowance of their just rights, and the uneasiness in the general mind, resulting from their constant agitation and irritation, insisted upon and demanded a relief that could not with safety be any longer denied them.

With the growth and the advance of civilization, and the progress made in all the human knowledges, the general forms of government have tended to a larger, a broader, and a more liberal system; determining toward the conclusion that the rights of man to the government or control of man lie largely in man himself; that he had a right and an authority to be consulted as to all those things which were to decide as to his welfare and happiness.

This conclusion of necessity carried with it a constant accession and growth as to the numbers demanding the right or use to a suffrage.

This is most fully and amply conceived under what is termed a republican system of government, where the right to a suffrage is presumptively universal; the only supposed exceptions to the same being the convicted criminal, the youth, who being still a minor as to age, and is supposed not to have as yet reached the sense or the power of a rightful judgment or discretion, and he of foreign birth or extraction, who is not allowed a citizenship or the right to a suffrage, even if he so desire, until he can obtain

a claim to such a desire or right by a fixed and a determined residence within the republic.

In the first of these three exceptions, namely, the convicted criminal, there is an apparent justice in the rule; in the second and in the third exceptions there is an assumed, though not a positive sense of justice.

From the fact that in many cases the educated youth might have a finer and a better sense of right justice and discretion, than many of riper age who are allowed and entitled the rights refused to him.

From the fact that accident of birth does not necessarily imply a lack of a love of freedom, or of the laws and customs of the country that one wished to adopt, or an incapacity or lack of discernment or discretion.

Yet as in both of the last cited cases there is an early limit placed as to when man is supposed to attain the age of ripeness and discernment, and also a limit is placed as to when the accident of birth is allowed to emerge from its probationary and penalty clause or condition, it somewhat modifies and softens an otherwise appearing harshness.

These exceptions, however, do not admit of utter disapproval; for it was no doubt necessary to affix an age when the child should be freed from all surveillance, and assume its own care and control. In the second case it might be a proper and a just precaution that a period should be fixed, so that those of foreign birth should feel assured that they had

overcome the prejudices or predilections, that makes man in many cases so clannish or tied up to the perfections of the land, and of the laws of the land of his nativity, and to examine seriously into the manners, customs, and laws of those with whom he wishes to completely affiliate with, to the renouncing of all former sympathies and ties.

The right to a suffrage has been one of slow and harsh growth, and although by the natural law it is an inherent right, it never was freely conceded as such.

They who lived in those good times when bodily vigor constituted real power, suffrage to them had not even assumed the form of a dream.

As man progressed in knowledge and acquired possessions a certain right to a suffrage was conceded only to those who were strong enough to enforce their demands for such rights.

And the knowledge as to the rights of this demand has constantly grown with man; and the growth and the betterment of the forms of government grew as man grew, from despotisms to feudal systems, from absolute monarchies to constitutional monarchies, until reaching that which is to be considered as the highest ideal, the republican system, or the system of government by and through the people themselves, the condition is attained of a presumptive universal suffrage.

Here it can readily be confessed that civilization favors the mind entirely at the expense of the body,

or that might must submit to right, the effect of the progress having been a constant and a continuous increase as to those to whom the right to a suffrage has been enabled and extended.

It has often been, and it is even to this day strongly maintained, that so-called universal suffrage is a great error as to a fact and result; that the general education is not sufficiently progressed as to warrant the majority decision as to the best good of the whole people; that a just or a proper suffrage should be restricted, either as to educational qualifications, or as to property or other possessions, or for special benefits or services rendered government.

It being contended that educational acquirements indicated superiority as to ability of judgment; that they who knew how to acquire and maintain individual possessions or landed rights were far better qualified to judge as to what was best for the welfare of the general people than those whose lack of prudence, economy or ability prevented and avoided the growth of possessions; that owning no possessions they would be reckless as to the rights of possessions in others.

The fallacy and sophistry, however, of this system of reasoning is very readily exposed, from the fact that suffrage was never freely conceded; that although the justice of the ethic as to the rights of man to a voice in and to his own government is an indisputable, inalienable right, as old as nature itself—this right was only conceded and obtained after constant and

continuous struggle; that every advanced movement was compulsory on the part of government, which always maintained a restrictiveness and a refusal to grant the suffrage right to certain portions of the people; that the right was always and only secured, not by admitting and conceding it as a natural right, but through the advanced knowledge and information of the contestants enforcing concessions of the right.

That lack of educational acquirements evidences a neglect of duty on the part of government itself; it not paying just and proper attention to its most important function, thereby enabling to the subject a higher and a truer life. That property possessions carried with it no proof as to a superior ability—as property might be possessed by a fool, or an idiot; it might be the result of an inheritance; it might have been secured through fraud or deception. That the natural rights cannot be jeopardized or interfered with because fate, fortune, nature or immoral ethics had refused property possessions.

It may be confessed that lack of useful information and knowledge on the part of the majority of those entitled to a suffrage might often determine in the doing of a wrong; or personal interests might control their leaders, to influence a none too wise constituency to assist in securing the doing of a wrong; but as the punishment occasioned thereby must also reflect upon themselves, they soon learn of the harshness of their own doings, and hasten to redeem the wrong

done. It would also instruct them to a greater caution in the future, and to exercise a greater care as to their further acts.

Man can much more readily submit to a punishment or a wrong that he consentedly placed upon himself, than to a wrong or a punishment placed upon him by others without his consent.

The course of the phenomena by which the mind of collective man is governed in its actions, is often, by its inconsistencies, incongruities, and vagaries, confusing to the mind of thinking man, for collective man must always be desirous of a collective or a public good. It can only be placed on a footing with that other phenomenon of nature that gives the noblest vegetation as the offspring of the filthiest manure.

The revolutions of the human mind may be watched and noted, but can seldom be explained to the satisfaction of the inquisitive. All that the caprice of nature has left us is to profit by those virtues or acquirements that nature has gifted us with; and use the wisest endeavors to work out the problems of life with the weapons with which humankind has been generously endowed.

The rise and the growth of the rights to a suffrage clearly indicates the advancement in the world, both of thought and matter, of all liberal opinions, and liberal opinions will finally rule the universe. They will become the faith, the religion, the morality of all nations; the rising impulse as to an improvement

to all the affairs and conditions of humankind may be impeded, retarded, and temporarily depressed, but they cannot be destroyed.

When the rights to a suffrage is truly universal, not presumptively universal; when the ethic which actuates, governs, and controls the uses that a universal suffrage will allow is a natural ethic, not a selfish or an immoral ethic; when the laws which govern the actions of man flows through the laws of nature, not through the perversion of the laws of nature arising from the wickedness and selfishness of individual man; then will truth, justice and reason be freed from its harsh environment, and the reign of universal liberality appear to all mankind, and to the enjoyment of the life that a generous nature afforded.

If the right to a suffrage is universal, as it is claimed to be in the republic, why is woman refused its exercise and its privileges? Is she to be listed as of the human, or of the animal creation? Is she a free moral creature or subject, or is she of the property of man? Must she submit to all the requirements that the government imposes, equal to all that is imposed on man, and yet be denied the equal rights that are given man?

Is she to be punished with the same punishments that are meted out to man for the equal crime that man is punished for? Or are the punishments that her crimes would call for transferred to and inflicted upon man her master? Man calls taxation without

representation tyranny, and yet he denies the right of representation to woman, assuming to himself the sole right of representation as to the affairs of all humankind.

Yet the same mother gives birth to both the male and the female, and acknowledges no distinction as to superiority. It is to a law of nature that the same mother was enabled to give birth to either. It is to the same law of nature that she nourishes either. Could man live and be without woman?

From what source then does man assume his authority and superiority, and deny woman her equal rights? Certainly not from any of nature's laws. No laws, or construction of laws, can be just or equitable but those that flow through the laws of nature. Mere sex is a purely physical circumstance, and can in nowise affect a sense of right or justice.

To cover an injustice or an immorality under the pretense, the claim, or the plea, that it is justified and allowed by the force of custom, prejudice, habit, and long continued existence, in nowise improves or demonstrates the justice of, or the morality of, its continuance, but only enhances the extent of the wrong done.

To answer the cause of truth, justice, reason or morality by a supposed sarcastic, contemptuous, or flippant method of reply or argument, in an effort to belittle the truthfulness of the opposing proposition, belongs to the class of truly ignorant or vicious, and so disgraceful and unphilosophical a method of antagonism must finally fail of its purpose.

Let philosophy examine into the justice of the ethic of the right of woman to a suffrage, and determine without fear or favor as to the truthfulness or the error of the proposition itself.

The daringness of female curiosity is generously conceded, yet it has seldom been so ambitious as to attempt to penetrate into the supposed mysteries of government or politics—and why?

Because all human beings are moulded by the circumstances in which they are placed. Because few opportunities are ever allowed woman of actual intercourse with that part of mankind whose ideas extend beyond the occurrences of the neighborhood, or the arrangements of their household. Because they have been most universally trained to the use of a needle, the care of a family, or the drudgeries of the household. Because man always refused them the justice of their right of inquiry, of interference, or their rights to a relief; always claiming their inferiority as to ability of judgment.

And this is not to be wondered at. With original man it was all brute force, and man was the strongest. This is the reason why in the earlier stages of society the females were slaves, and driven to all the drudgeries and hardships of life, while man, the master, was exercising his superiority or brute force on the bodies and properties of those who were less strong, and thanking some of his many gods for enabling his retention as the survival of the fittest. In such a stage as this, when might was always right,

could one expect a sense of justice, a giving unto Cæsar that which of right belonged to Cæsar?

Is it strange that women are most inclined to discuss subjects that are connected with their daily employment, and the arts in which they are proficient? Merchants dwell most constantly on the prices of the day, and all incidents by which commerce is affected. Lawyers will constantly prate of laws, their clients, and of justice. The physician has without doubt his own profession most in mind and speech.

Why should it be otherwise with woman? Every one's duties or profession requires more or less of his or her attention. The only fault would lie in sometimes allowing it wholly to engross one's faculties, and often in overlooking other considerations that are of the utmost importance, not only as to the welfare of themselves, but also as to their duty as members of society.

The sexes are essentially equal. The differences that flow from the sexual distinction are as nothing in the volume. If woman's sphere has been limited and narrow, it was because man forced the distinction, not nature.

Woman will profit by every opportunity offered, as readily and fully as man. If they are trained to a particular art, the mind becomes chiefly occupied by images and associations drawn from this art. It is a circumstance that universally takes place; but not more so with woman than with man.

They must to a certain extent be witnesses of what is passing. There is a certain sphere in which they are actual observers. They see and hear considerable of the actions and character of those around them. These they remember, often become the topic of reflection, and should opportunity offer, delight to produce and compare them. This is perfectly natural and reasonable, but in what respect does it differ from the thoughts and actions of the lord and master, man?

Ignorance, stupidity or envy are not to be applauded or held to favor, whether they belong to man or woman; but it would be grossly absurd to claim these defects peculiar to woman. If the sexes had in reality separate interests, and it were not absurd to set more value on qualifications, on account of their belonging to the female sex, it is more than likely that woman would triumph. Together with power and property, man can with justice likewise assert his superior claim to vice and folly.

To revert, why does woman take so little interest in discussions on government or politics? You might as well expect an Esquimau to write Greek spontaneously, and without instruction, as that a woman should be interested, wise or skillful, without suitable opportunities, by first enforcing upon her an instruction that it is not within her province or her duty to man.

Why should woman be condemned to an inferiority simply because man has so adjudged it. It is a false

judgment that attributes to the word or term Man in Nature the male simply; Man in Nature expresses all humankind. What is just and proper to the male, is just and proper to the female; they are of the one seed, the one tree, the one fruit. Man's claim to superiority is man's egotism, man's vanity, man's injustice; not nature's preference.

Though we may admit an equality of the sexes, we cannot allow a superiority. The state of the ignorant, weak or laborious is always entitled to consideration and relief; not because they are either men or women, but because they are rational beings.

There should be no laws to restrict woman from entering into any of the duties, requirements, or pursuits of life; all that should be looked for is a natural ability to carry their duties out to a success.

It is true, woman's natural pursuits should be those that have the least of toil, being by nature most friendly to purity of manners, delicacy of sensation, intellectual improvements and activity.

The less tiresome or servile the tasks are which necessity enjoins upon us, the less tendency it has to harden our hearts, to undermine our healths; the more leisure it affords us to gratify our curiosity and cultivate our moral discernment the better.

It is claimed with some force that the rights to a suffrage in woman is not a necessary requirement, from the fact that the fathers, sons, husbands, brothers, would fully care for and protect them in all their just rights; and to justify this assertion a

comparison is often drawn as to whether the wives, daughters and single women, of any single class of the community, are not, as a rule, placed in a more favorable situation than the husbands, sons and single men of the same class.

As a rule it might with justice be answered affirmatively. But all rules have their exceptions, and it is to the exceptions that the greatest care must be exercised to prevent the doing of a great wrong. Two wrongs cannot possibly determine as one right. No more can two rights justify the retention of one wrong. Though the majority of the community may be virtuous, that does not avoid the necessity of deterrent laws to defend the community, or parts of the community, from the vicious.

If it is a tyranny to make laws for the government of man, or to tax man without enabling him a representation in the government of himself, it is just as great a tyranny to refuse the same rights, privileges and duties to woman. If she is not to be entrusted with the government of herself, you boldly state that her relation to society is to be of no more concern in the distribution of public duties than that of an animal. Yet she must submit to whatever conditions the judgment of man may impose on her, and be subject to all the duties and penalties of the laws of government.

It may be claimed that most women do not want the right to a suffrage, but are contented with the conditions that man has apportioned as their lot.

This statement, irrespective as to its truthfulness, cannot affect the validity or the justice of the right itself, or of the right of those that claim their right to a suffrage. They that are willing, or contented to renunciate their own rights, have no justice or power to renounce the rights of others. Liberty is one's birthright, and there can be no liberty without the right to representation.

Since all cannot govern, or deliberate individually, it is just and proper that they should elect their representatives that every human being should possess indirectly, and through the medium of a representative, a voice in the public councils; and should yield to no will but that of an actual majority.

Though man may in many cases act justly as to the affairs of woman, both in the individual case as well as in the affairs and laws of government, cases no doubt constantly arise where individual man will betray both his trusts and his manhood, and ill-use the powers that he holds over the woman in his own household.

In other and many cases woman may be deprived through natural causes of a care and a protection from any of her own kin. In both these cases the woman, her rights and her possessions, are absolutely left to the justice, control and disposition of strangers, or of those determined on her injury.

In all cases the justice as to the right to a suffrage to woman is undeniable, indisputable, unquestionable; it is as old a right as the law of nature itself, it is an inherent right which no law of man can disqualify.

Woman has unquestionably benefited by the great progress that has taken place in all the arts and sciences. It has opened up new fields for her employ that man thought was exclusively his own. If woman's sphere has formerly been a restrictive one, the distinction was largely placed by man. The sexes are essentially equal.

The question as to what sex is employed in the requirements of the industries of life is of no importance; it is simply a question as to natural ability. Woman has the same natural rights to the industry necessary to enable her own life as man.

If the developments, the great progress made in all the arts and sciences, has so lessened and lightened the necessity for harsh and tiresome labor, to enable all the requirements of the human race so as to allow an equal production by the weak as to the strong, it simply evidences the virtue of nature; as it thereby enables the ability as to the securement of the rights and necessities of all. Then it can no more be truthfully said, "The battle to the strong, the race to the swift."

If the great progress made in the arts and sciences has reached that degree of perfection, that through a false and pernicious system of political economy, an unnatural ethical system, both the strong and the weak, the male and the female, are debarred and hindered from their natural rights to such an extent as to prevent a willing and desirous industry, an enabling and securement of the bounties of

nature to all; the relief and the justice would not lie in charging the impairment, or the harshness of the condition to the fact that woman had become a factor in the battles of life's industries, as this is her natural right as well as it is man's; but in adopting a natural system of ethics, a political economy based upon the laws of nature (not the unnatural, immoral ethics that selfish, unprincipled man has enforced and persists in); a system whereby a willing industry will be constantly enabled, securing thereby a prosperity and a happiness to all, as provided for and required by nature itself.

The plea is constantly set forth that it would be demoralizing to the sense, the delicacy, and the virtue of woman, for her in anywise to mingle in, or become concerned in, the unclean and disgusting whirlpool of politics; that politics was exclusively man's province, that he alone was able to cope with its wickedness and mingle in its depravity.

This proposition carries with it its own condemnation. If the game of what man calls politics is as vile and vulgar as it is claimed to be, and as most thinking and just men admit it to be, it will require the restraining power, the higher moral sense, and the juster virtue of woman, to draw man back into the path of rectitude and justice. This power of redemption does not seem possible to man himself, for during all time past he was the sole arbiter. Yet his so-called game of politics has steadily depreciated, in the morality of its actions, and the sense of justice of its followers.

The political methods of the day are shocking and objectionable to just men; while the immorality and wickedness which courses through its every method is repulsive to the discovering mind. These methods are undoubtedly due to, and the result of, the immoral ethics which govern so-called civilization.

Society is corrupted to the core. There is no truth, no justice, no mercy. To slander, to lie, to rob, to steal, to deceive; all things seem to be permitted save to do right, and to speak the truth. Crimes, natural, unnatural, preternatural, seem to be the common characteristics of the day. Most posts and charges are venal. Great offices of justice are sold to the highest bidder, and that which is thus purchased at wholesale is retailed at an enormous advance in the same fashion. Unhappy the poor client who dreams of and expects justice. The vision will soon fade.

To redeem the immorality and injustices of politics and partisanship, to grow the ethics up to the natural requirements,- the right to a suffrage to woman, the natural right, becomes not only a justice, but a necessity. She loves the paths of virtue, of justice, of humanity. She would help to grow and change what should be known as the science of politics to that which nature intended it for; to ameliorate and better all the conditions of humankind, enabling a proper life to all in conformity with nature's provision.

To realize a higher morality, a juster and a truer

life, man should grow to woman, woman to man. Then man too will grow in decency, grace, and dignity, and closer to the laws of nature.

The mother never refuses justice or succor to the child, though the child might refuse justice to the mother. All humankind had mothers, and who among all denies to its mother all the virtues, the justice and the humanity that is inherent in nature. The universal right to a suffrage should be and is a natural, not a conceded right—it must be actual, not presumptive.

'Yet in the long years, liker must they grow;
The man be more of woman, she of man.
He gain in sweetness, and in moral height,
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,
Nor lose the childlike, in the larger mind:
Till at last she set herself to man,
Like perfect music unto nobler words;
And so these twain, upon the skirts of time,
Sit side by side, full summoned in all their powers,
Dispensing harvest, sowing the To-be;
Self-reverent each, and reverencing each,
Distinct in individualities.
But like each other, e'en as those who love,
Then comes the statelier Eden back to men:
Then reign the world's great bridals chaste and calm,
Then springs the crowning race of human kind.''

Then will all ethics be natural ethics. Then man and woman can live as nature provided.

VII.

THE ETHIC AS TO POLITICS.

The harp of many strings, so fitfully tuned and played upon by the different partisans as to the justice and equity of their different propositions, defining the correct or true method of government, or as to the system which will lead to the greatest contentment and prosperity of the people governed, must be full of discordant sounds and inconsistencies to the opponent ear when played to the tune of their opponent's music.

The fact that the same relative conditions and hardships exist over the whole so-called civilized world, determines the dishonesty and falsity of their reasonings.

That which is universal must have an origin in something different than local causes; and the dishonesty, rascality and venality of those in high places of trust and repute, who constantly deceive the unthinking, or the poorly educated, by the sophistry of false pleading, only so as to enable their own advancement or gain, deserve the condemnation of all just men.

Men so lost to pity, to humane feeling, who will close their eyes and their ears to the sight and the

sound of human miseries, and the human complaint, are unworthy of the claim of manhood. Yet such are the ethics by which society is governed that it would seem; but such men only, men who possess but the contrary of pity, but the contrary of true honesty, are those who regulate the misgovernment of society.

This contrary to pity, which is hardness of heart, must proceed only either from slowness of imagination, from excess of selfishness, or some extreme great opinion of their exemption from the like calamities.

All partisans claim that their party, and theirs only, is the true one. Yet how can the different partisan claims be reconciled, which are often as opposite to each other as the antipodes of the earth? More particularly as all seem to lead to the same conditions of increased human wants, miseries, and wretchedness.

They are but the delusions and deceptions of men, held in force and place for no other object than to further their own selfishness and gain.

The sounds emitted from the playing on this harp of many strings seems harmony to some, discord to others; exemplifying another of that phenomena of human nature which gave us that sense to be pleased or displeased with that which, whether from ignorance or our own anticipated conclusions, encouraged the belief of happy or unhappy results from those sounds to which our ears were heeding.

There can be but one single truth or justice. Many ethics might be submitted, but only one can be true.

All those ethics which led up to the present state of our so-called civilization are false in theory and false in fact.

Were they truthful they would be unanswerable. Were they not theoretical they would have been natural; that is, they would have maintained the welfare of all humankind on a parity and in consonance with the natural abilities and the natural bounties; they would have enabled the industry of the whole, without which no prosperity or peaceful security can ever be realized.

Government officials, or politicians, as they are often termed, are as essential and necessary to the welfare and prosperity of society as any of the subjects of the different industries which are necessary to enable the wants, uses or desires of mankind.

Society cannot exist or prosper without government, and it is only through the efficiency of its officials that its functions and purposes can be consummated.

This need not convey the impression that partisans, in order to maintain or secure their hold of the governmental control for the purpose of securing greater individual preferment or pecuniary gains, should, by wicked deception or false promise, lure the people on to a greater want or misery, in place of using all their combined industry and wisdom to alleviate and better their condition.

A philosopher has affirmed that men are born wicked. It would be useless and difficult to attempt to discover whether the assertion be true. This at least is certain, that the great mass of society is not wicked.

If the majority were determined to be criminal and violate the laws, there would be no power to restrain or prevent them; this is the triumph of civilization.

Thus it would be wise to look to the development of the human reason, and of the faculties and needs of mankind, for the key to maintain social order.

It is only those who wish to deceive the people, and rule them for their own personal advantage, that would desire to keep them in ignorance.

Yet such seems to be the purpose of partisans under present ethics, no matter how high in repute or public position.

If one at times, from pure honesty and truthfulness of purpose, withdraws from his former associations to advocate a nobler and a higher aim, all parties through the fear of self-injury use their every power to crush his effort, and join in the contemptuous cry of renegade, faithlessness, and all their concurrent apellations, sinking in ridicule the best and noblest endeavors.

Were these partisans themselves truthful, why are they of so many kinds? and which is the only truthful one?

If all are equally false, and such seems to be the

reasonings of a true philosophy, from whence can relief be obtained, except from the teachings of a new and a natural ethic.

The more the people are enlightened, the more they realize the truth as to the actual conditions of all society, the more they will be convinced as to the utility of laws, and of the necessity of defending them; and the more steady, happy and prosperous will society become.

If knowledge should ever become dangerous in the people it will only be when the government, in opposition to the real interests of the people, not the imaginary interests as misrepresented by partisans, drives them into an unnatural situation, or dooms the unfortunate classes to perish for want.

In such a case knowledge would inspire them with spirit to defend themselves or to become criminal.

History claims that no social revolution ever takes place unaccompanied by violence. Every revolution of this kind is at first a revolt; time and success alone can exalt it, and render it legitimate, but still it can never be brought about without outrage.

Should not this claim alone instruct the partisan to yield to patriotism and justice in his quest for political preferment, and not to the devious and wicked schemes of deception as practiced under present ethics.

A change from present unjust ethics to natural ethics would in nowise interfere with man's ambitions for political preferment or position.

If man would only guide himself, not by party violence and rancor, but by moderation and wisdom, with candor, justice, and truth, he would soon be in harmony with nature's purposes.

All parties blame persecution or wrong when they themselves feel the sting of it. Yet under present ethics all seem to practice it when they have the rod in their own hands.

A system of immoral political ethics which suffers the people to be ill-educated and deceived, or stays them from earning or gaining (even by a desirous and willing industry) a sufficiency to sustain life, but stands ready to punish them for those doings which are called crimes; and to which their first and false education, or nature's needs, forces or disposes them to commit.

What can be concluded from this but that they are first taught immorality, or through nature's necessities are forced into crime and then punished for the same.

Is this equity, justice, humanity or civilization?

Yet such are the ethics that now govern society.

VIII.

THE ETHIC OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

The justice of an ethic which empowers to collective man or government the right to the life or the death of the individual subject is one that often submits to great dispute.

Early government allowed it of no disputation; as for even the most trivial of offenses, and submitting to but the shallowest form of trial, men were hurried to a quick and wicked execution.

As mankind advanced in general knowledge, and intercourse between the different nations became more diffused, the justice as to the government ethic, as to capital punishment, assumed much broader and disputatious controversy.

This finally determined, as to more generally acknowledged civilized nations, in eliminating from out of the list of causes deserving capital punishment all offenses but the two which are denominated as treason and willful murder.

Treason can only occur as to the government itself. It is of seldom occasion, and occurs mainly in times of civil or foreign wars.

Death for conviction of treason is maintained on

the base of a necessity to self-preservation, accepted by all as the first law of nature.

If they who in the attempt at treason succeed it is no longer treason, but becomes government itself, and has the power to make its own laws: if they fail they must suffer death.

The justice of the ethic as to the punishment of death for treason can never be held in dispute, for it is an ethic in which the power of force, not the question of justice, holds full sway.

> Treason never prospers. Why? If it prospers
> None dare call it treason.

The justice of the ethic as to capital punishment, as to the crime of murder, is maintained with great obstinacy; and its retention is asserted to be justified by the teachings of claimed revelations, which assert retributive justice—a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye.

True philosophy will not and cannot accept of any conclusions which has not nature for its base, and will submit to the reasonings and acceptations of the human mind.

That society is compelled to deterrent laws to enable and enforce its own convictions as to the rights and duties of its subjects, and to punish the wicked, immoral, or unjust, who infringe on what is called the individual or the general rights, scarcely admits of question.

Yet great care must be exercised not to exceed the justice or moral question of that right, for when

government or society commits a wrong—even if it be a legalized wrong—the immorality of the act permeates through its entire body politic, endangering the morality and security of the whole people.

When government refers back to the time—not so greatly distant—when capital punishment was common to the most trivial of offenses, when men's judgment, or that which passed current as men's judgment, consented to the justice of these punishments, they should hesitate as to a conclusion that might be as fatal to the truth of justice as the earlier convictions.

If it were truthful and just to take the life of man for many so-called offenses in time past, it were just as truthful and just to-day—for time, ancient or present, does not affect the title or validity to truth or justice; its base is impregnable, invulnerable.

Yet man consented then to its justice but denies it now, and views with indignation and horror those records which constantly present to his knowledge those myriads of indignities and crimes which in the name of truth and justice were heaped upon ever struggling humanity.

It is of no purpose or avail to delve into and accuse the morality or the justice of the then accepted ethics and judgments of past ages.

They may have been in accord with that phenomena of nature, which, for purposes of its own, solves its own mysteries, by its own methods, during its development of mankind and growing civilization.

For to the mind of man the growing perfection of mankind and the completion of civilization is nature's greatest purpose, all else being subservient thereto.

Man should carefully guard against the adherence to ethics, common and general to earlier civilization. Their own advanced knowledge now convinces them that these ethics are being constantly eliminated, as the necessities demonstrate, from growing civilization; as inconsistent with advanced humanity and the higher knowledge of man, the result of natural development.

On a line with the teachings of a retributive justice —an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth—to illustrate the inequity of its bearings and conclusions:

A roofer repairing the steep roof of a house in a Turkish village lost his hold, and falling to the street fell on the head of a worthy villager just passing, who was instantly killed.

His son thereupon pleaded earnestly with the cadi for the life of the roofer, who had taken his father's life, who was the only support of a large family.

The cadi, serious and thoughtful (knowing that the roofer had also a large family to support), could scarcely determine how or why to punish the roofer.

The son, however, persisted in his determination, that he who caused his father's death, depriving a large family of their only care, deserved death himself.

The cadi, after much reflection, remembered that he had heard much mention of a retributive justice

that returned like for like, and would therefore pass this judgment, which should punish as well as assuage the wrong done and enforce justice. The judgment was, that the roofer should stand on the very spot on which the father had been killed; the son should go on the roof, and from the same spot that the roofer had fallen from, should fall upon the roofer's head, and thereby deprive him of his life. History fails to record the execution of this retributive justice.

A query might here arise, if the roofer was not responsible for the death of the villager—for if responsible he should have been punished—who was responsible? Was the death the result of part of that phenomena of nature of which man must remain in perpetual ignorance?

The ethic of man allows two concessions, two exceptions, to the prevention of the death penalty. He who is determined to be *non compos mentis* or insane cannot be adjudged to death. He may be sentenced to incarceration, but should it be afterward proven that he had regained his sanity he would have to be at once released.

A sane person cannot be held prisoner in an insane retreat, yet after his release he may yet commit a further murder.

How delicate the distinction between the sane or the insane! How fine a web divides the line! Those of greatest repute and learning often fail of the same understanding as to, Is it sanity, or is it insanity?

And constant disagreement is common to all the walks of life—common to all the affairs of man.

In religion, government, politics, commerce, labor, art and science, in each of these one is perplexed by the multitude of opinions, by the greatness of the disagreement.

Yet it were impossible that all were right. All can be wrong, but only one can be right.

If man was born or grew into insanity and then commit the crime of murder on another worthy and virtuous, a crime has been committed against society —an innocent person deprived of life—yet none can be punished. All that society could do would be to hold the murderer in durance or imprisonment during his continued insanity.

A step further and closer into the mystery of natural phenomena. Why were either created? one to destroy, the other to be destroyed.

But it might be claimed that sane man, were the punishment not extreme, would on the slightest occasion take the power of judgment unto himself. This might be true were there no law, but would not apply if only as to degree of punishment.

Man suffered the punishment of death for the most trivial of offenses where passion or conceit were not concerned: for in the times when the pettiest of crimes were punishable by death, murder expressed but a small portion of the convictions.

A presumed severity of punishment has never deterred man from the commission of the named crimes

to society. These crimes are due to man's nature, furthered by passion, jealousy, envy, spite, want, wickedness, insanity, or to any of the words which will go to express the different conditions that man's nature can display.

It may be further said that all of man's acts are subject to the power of his will, and that he should curb, conform and control his will to the dictates of society.

This is contrary to the natural law itself. Were man's power of will absolute to himself, the power of nature would not lie; then all the passions that humankind is heir to would not be passions at all, except when man desired to create, expose, or utilize them.

With the passions of man but parts of nature, government should be very circumspect and cautious not to infringe upon or impair nature's domain.

Government itself consents that in defense of life itself, or the fear of danger to life itself, and which might not have resulted in the loss of life itself, man shall be justified in the taking of life.

This but expresses a universal concession that self-preservation is the first law of nature, to which society has no right of interference.

Here also nature gave life to both. But government makes nature party to the taking of this life, therefore refuses interference—a further contribution to that phenomena of nature which none dare dispute.

Philosophy can realize but one conclusion: that all the acts of man, as determined to life or death, are

nature's sole prerogative, pertaining to that phenomena insolvable to man.

That society or government passes beyond its boundary, infringing upon nature's domain, where it instructs to a determinate death; for the acts of the individual, the inception to which must have had its conception and execution in nature's own creation.

The conceded past errors and insufficiency of judgment of society or government should hasten government to repeal all law which had not an abiding hold in the certainty of its equity and the justice of nature.

Until man becomes more perfect deterrent laws will be an essential to society. The moral and effect as to their justice should remain in the living punishment, for government itself is often full of conceit and error.

Where error is discovered in living punishment error can be redressed; deterrent laws should determine punishment as to life, not as to death.

If society hopes to enforce better manhood its maxim should teach justice to all; as well to the wicked as to the virtuous. An immoral government cannot maintain a virtuous society.

With natural, not subverted ethics to govern its maintenance, society might hope for a juster life, a higher future in accordance with the fullness of the teachings of a bounteous nature.

As this bounteous nature becomes more justly diffused, enabling a sufficiency to all willing to sub-

mit to its required industry, the incentive to all crime will gradually lessen or disappear, and the purposes of nature will be revealed in the beauty of its justice.

Abolish capital punishment, let man live as nature itself may determine, make the ethics natural ethics to ensure the prosperity and contentment of all.

IX.

COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS.

Community of interests can never be made applicable except as to the substance of the thing: it can never be extended to the use of it; neither could community of interest lead to practical purpose.

Community of interest is always and only perfect co-operation. Perfect co-operation is but a synonym for Utopia; this is not in harmony with nature, which, for purposes inscrutable to man, has made humankind so different in their attributes, some good, some bad, some strong, others weak; some good-natured, others passionate; some industrious, others indolent; some ambitious, others reckless; some drunkards, others temperate; all probably controlled, dependent upon and governed by the fashion or manner in which nature allows their blood to circulate through its vessels, maintaining the body and the heart of man.

With nature for man's guide why attempt to realize the unattainable?

This enforces the conviction that all those submitted ethics which have for their object, and would realize the effect of governmental control of the industries of individual man, even if it were directed only to those affairs which might be construed as

government work, if it be work that man consents to be the work that belongs to the individual industries, would fail of their purpose; would entail a further and probably more evil consequence than even present ethics, being less in accord with the natural laws.

Were government to do its own industrial work directly—and not through special contract with the individual man, stipulating specific quantity and quality of work at a specific price, subject only to the proper surveillance and supervision of qualified officials—the work would not be done properly, or if done properly, it would always be given to partisans or special favorites, and the quantity of the work done, if not the quality, would be inefficiently done, and not with the industry which it deserves; it would not secure a reciprocal exchange value. Men will idle if not subject to proper and concerned guidance; simply destroying the time that would enable them to reach their wage, and the cost of the labor would be largely in excess of the actual industry.

Prosperity, equity and peaceful security can only be had on the basis of an actual and a valid reciprocal exchange.

To realize this the industry of the whole should be employed in such a manner as to conform to the conditions that nature had established as to the differences that exists as between all men.

If not so conformed it would nullify the attainment and realization of an actual and valid reciprocal exchange, by enabling conditions such as present ethics

allow, whereby favoritism and benefits are allowed some at the price of justice and equity to others, robbing industry to enrich idleness; this would not be natural ethics.

Attempts at community of interests are not novel to the life of the human race; they have been constant in their hopes of a successful accomplishment, a complete realization.

But community of interest is contrary to the natural purposes, as evidenced by the great natural and physical differences that exist as between all mankind. A most perfect exemplification as to the failure and impracticability of its purpose was evidenced in the experience of the original Plymouth emigrants (1620).

Driven from their homes by bigotry and persecution, from all they loved and held dear, a hardy people of a common race, a common interest; of an agreed and intensely persistent and serious religious belief; settling on a new soil free and freed from all commercial and competitive aggressions, all depending and dependent upon each other, a more complete, necessary and effective combination to secure, exercise and realize a just and true community of interests can scarcely be conceived. Yet after a fair trial they were compelled to the abandonment of the community system, or the common sharing of labor and its products, and the whole property was divided among the inhabitants.

And the cold facts of the historian thus recites the

effects of the change from communism to individualism. "New incentives to industry were thereby created," and very soon the blessings of plenty drawn from the unfruitful soil of New England rewarded labor there. The cultivators of the soil became freeholders and general prosperity was soon manifested. Community of interests through the laws of nature itself has always proven ineffective as to consummation of intended purpose.

X.

FALSE PRIDE.

False pride or false philosophy often contends that every subject, no matter whether his net results were a profit or a loss, should contribute his share of the tax to the support of government, as all mankind enjoyed equally the protection of the government as to security, peace and prosperity; that it ennobled his manhood and made him feel and acknowledge the purposes and good of government, of which each subject was a part.

That for this security the subject should even deprive himself of the comforts and requirements that a generous nature offered, by economizing, as the term is expressed, as to his own needs, uses or desires of life.

This philosophy is almost on a footing with that stoical scheme of supplying one's wants by lopping off our desires, of cutting off our feet when we want shoes.

Curtailment of the uses or desires of man's requirements neither encourages the industries on which all prosperity depends; is not in consonance with the natural abilities, by refusing the bounties of a beneficent and plenteous nature; and does not, in

fact, enable, but hinders, taxation; for taxation in all cases must be exacted out of the increased or surplus possessions, and cannot be exacted out of consumed necessities, or maintained if exacted out of pre-existing or formerly taxed possessions.

Each subject pays his full proportion of the taxation on all his uses, needs or desires, consumed and requisite to his sustenance; for it is only by the employment of the industries that these uses, needs or desires could be secured; and it is only from the employment of the industries that the surplus possessions are accumulated from which to enable taxation.

Were taxation not exclusively enabled from the continuous growing surplus possessions, the wealth of mankind would constantly diminish. The wealth of the so-called civilized world is constantly augmenting in a great and rapid proportion.

Refusing the uses of the bounties of nature to the full extent of man's requirements is inconsistent with natural philosophy, and to the extent of restricting the employ of the industrious, a great wrong and a crime, not a justification.

XI.

PROGRESS VERSUS POVERTY.

The claim so persistently and stubbornly held as to progress and poverty, as set forth by the exponents of socialism, communism, nationalism and single land taxism, that as progress increases as to prosperity and wealth, poverty increases inversely as to destitution, is false both in philosophy and in fact.

The collective wealth of the industrial world is constantly and continually augmenting. Comparatively and relatively, the social and material, or physical life, of the community has kept pace with this growth.

This is an inherent fact; for wealth or possessions cannot grow and be maintained except that society enables its growth, and maintains and creates values by the demand and the uses of the things or possessions which they themselves created.

It is beyond conception how intelligent man can assert that the general condition of mankind has not been bettered, but lessened, by the growth of civilization.

It is undoubtedly true that as mankind grows in general knowledge, and as the growth of civilization produces and displays the productions and abilities

of a beneficent nature, his demands for a constant, a higher and a better life to which he is by the givings of nature entitled, and to the denial of which individual man has always striven to deprive him through the force of the ethics which allow a false accounting of nature's gifts, is a constant source of discontent and complaint.

It is furthermore true that as the progress in the arts and sciences advanced, and enabled fuller and manifold production of all the earth's resources, besides allowing of great displacement and idleness to large numbers of the individual community, that the harshness of the individual conditions of this displaced industry grow in great intensity. But this result arises solely from the false method of man, of maintaining a parity of result.

Were the methods or ethics of man kept on a parity with the givings of nature, industrious man would be able to enjoy a fuller, freer and a better life than was accorded even to the rulers of men in the early civilization.

All that makes life desirable and enjoyable has grown, as progress and wealth have grown.

None but a frenzied fancy can anticipate that a reversal of all present conditions, and a reversion to the days "when all belonged to all," would be in line and touch with present man's ambition; and in conformity with the purposes of a progressive nature.

Yet such are the teachings to which many of these different "isms" would lead. When "all belongs to

all," individual man's purpose would cease, as there would be no rights for any to acknowledge.

A sense of justice, coupled with a desire to right a growing wrong, conforming ourselves to the conditions requisite to realize the requirements of a progressive nature, would not only enable a better and a higher security and purpose to life itself, but would crush in the bud all those foul growths which constantly threaten and disturb the peace of advancing civilization, by destroying the roots from which they spring.

Adopt natural ethics. Prosperity, not poverty, will always continue to develop with progress.

XII.

ETHIC OF PATENTS.

Great contention prevails among men as to the justice of the ethic by which government specially protects and defends individual man in discoveries which are novel to mankind, and secures improvements and greater developments to the industries which are of use and benefit to the needs and desires of humankind.

These improvements, if useful, when once established become through the laws of trade necessities; and compel all men (so as to be enabled to endure competition and to remain in their own industries) to adopt and abide by the uses of these improvements, or until other improvements of still greater utility supplant them.

As they also enable an increased and manifold production of the needs and desires of man, largely displacing, by their introduction, the needs and employ of industrious man, compelling them from industry to idleness, the query often presents itself, Why should government protect and defend that which appears to be doing a striking and a palpable injury to all but a few?

It is contended with great force that man, if left to

his own industry, can secure more than a sufficient to sustain life; that the sustenance of man, and his retention in the industry which protects his being, is of far greater requirement than the protection and defense of an improvement which largely destroyed his usefulness; that a greater increase of production and a lesser ability of consumption tended to a final destruction of the security of society—as man must be encouraged to industry not idleness, for idleness leads to immorality and vice.

That while these improvements might be of great profit and advantage to the few, they tended to destroy the industry, and the ability, of the many—of final destruction to values, as they enabled full or increased productions without labor, and labor was a prerequisite to man to enable him to secure a reciprocal exchange value for his uses and needs.

These are all self-evident truths. Yet it is to nature's development that these improvements are necessary, and did no incentive lie to stimulate man to their discovery, development and completion, mankind would not have grown from his primeval state to the improved knowledge, condition and abilities of advanced and growing civilization.

The government patent protects man in the industry of his invention, and stimulates him in his ambition to perfect and complete his improvement, looking for his reward thereto.

Were this incentive and hoped-for reward not given, and it does not always develop its reward,

none would destroy their own industry and ability to invent, develop and perfect great improvements that would belong equally to all mankind, and be of no extra benefit to the discoverer.

Undoubtedly accident has had much to do with the origin of the arts, as well as with the progress of the sciences, and the improvements constantly made therein, but it has been by scientific processes and experiments that these accidental results have been rendered applicable to the purposes of common life.

Besides it requires a certain degree of knowledge and scientific combination to understand and seize upon the facts which have originated in accident.

What are these accidents which lead to discovery, what are these scientific processes and experiments by which they are completed, but the phenomena of nature, working through the human mind.

Therefore it is virtually to nature that these improvements are to be attributed, and the protection of the government simply in line with the purposes of nature to encourage to its full extent the ambitions and emulations of individual man, and through these ambitions further the development of nature's bounty.

The object of nature could not have been to destroy man's ability or man's industry; for an increased production could not naturally lead to man's destruction for want of sustenance, but to man's security. By giving him an abundance for his necessities, its purpose could not be to destroy his usefulness, for the fullness of its productions should enable his suste-

nance while he was seeking further in the depths of nature's revelations for greater fullness, greater delights, to encourage man to a higher life.

To illustrate the justice and equity of the reasonings of the above philosophy, assume a population at a unit of one hundred beings.

By a full employ as between themselves they produce a full sufficiency of the goods and desires of life, to supply the entire one hundred with all of man's uses, needs, desires and luxuries of life.

An improvement in many of the different industries enables fifty, or one-half of the population fully employed to produce as great, if not a greater supply and production, than would give a full sufficiency to the uses, needs, desires and the luxuries of life to the full one hundred beings, or the entire population, and twice as much as the fifty who are still industrious in the productions can possibly use or consume without waste.

What possible object or purpose would there be in the production of a full sufficiency for all by fifty, or one-half of the total population, if the other half of the population could not be kept a party to the consumption.

Can it be justified that nature's object in enabling a fuller and a quicker production of all its bounties, had for its purpose a uselessness or a waste to some, and a starvation and a loss of industry to others?

Is it not more in accord with the fullness of its justice, that it was given man to enable him to enjoy

a better life and to allow to man a greater and a still higher purpose.

The improvements in the arts and sciences so far advanced human knowledge as to make possible through the knowledge acquired, of a constant, steady and almost positive pre-accounting, as to the quantities of the natural abilities, so as to make sure of man's sustenance, of which, through the lack of such knowledge, earlier civilization was in constant dread.

It is not to the ethic of the patent laws that the evils apparently resulting therefrom are to be charged, but to the general ethics governing the so-called civilized world.

These ethics so distort natural bounties (which the dictates of humanity itself should teach mankind to encourage) through its immoral and inequitable systems of taxation, and by its adherence to a so-called system of economy which refuses to maintain the industry of the whole (which would inure the benefits derived from these improvements to all mankind, as nature provided), that it destroys more than it saves.

Enable and ensure the industry of the whole through the guidance and surveillance only of collective man (which the displacement in the industries caused by the improvements in the arts makes imperative), effecting the same through the contract and control of individual man only, subject to the government surveillance as to the proper fulfillment of contract. This would in nowise disturb but encourage the fullness of all the industries.

Retain the patent laws, encourage man's ambition to a further development of nature's bounties, substituting natural ethics which would enable the industry of the whole in place of existing ethics, and let man live to enjoy all the bounties which a generous nature allows.

XIII.

COMPULSORY LAND INDUSTRY.

A pretended philosophy may be advanced that as land might be owned or possessed by many subjects, if the government tax were a single tax and exacted out of the net profits, some might not improve their lands, while those who did improve and work their lands would be compelled to the payment of the full proportion of the tax that should be exacted out of all landed possessions.

This would be the reverse of true philosophy. Whoever possesses land must first have had to expend industry, either direct or indirect, or the equivalent results obtained from industry, to secure and own said land.

It may be said that the land may have been seized or pre-empted under government consent. Still if the land be allowed to remain unimproved it would realize no revenue, and be useless to the holder. Further, if the production of other lands were already in excess of the ability or needs of consumption of the whole community, the idle lands could work no possible harm or injury to population which already possessed a more than sufficient.

To let land lie idle under such circumstances se-

cures no return to the owner, is of no harm to the community, and increases the prosperity of the industrious. The owners of these idle lands must also (during their idleness) be consumers of all their own and their dependents' wants and necessities, which increase to that extent the industry of the employed. Under the law and demand for a reciprocal exchange they could not obtain these needs and necessities without either labor or the equivalent of labor of former accumulations.

As the tax on the industrious, or those who accomplish net gains (and no other tax would lie), is not destructive, the net profits of the industrious would of necessity grow through the idleness of other portions of the community, provided these portions possessed a reciprocal exchange value to supply their wants. The industrious ones would thereby constantly acquire new and further possessions, which accumulated possessions, after the payment of the first and single tax, would be forever precluded from further taxation.

The unearned increment, or the increased value which the land might reach through the growth and demands of population, would in nowise escape its just share of taxation, for the net profits derived from same would be equally taxed with the net profits derived from the productions of land.

As no wealth can be honestly gathered except by and through industry, these would be the fruits received for the greater industry. The possessions of

the idle would decrease, those of the industrious increase; and this would be veritable justice, veritable equity.

It confounds the reasoning power of many men how existing possessions can be forever excluded from a further taxation, and the government yet secure the means to enable its function.

Many contend that it is to the yearly and continuous taxation of the same property by which taxation is maintained. Yet this proposition is absurd, both in the abstract and in the concrete. If taxation were extracted out of the same property, and not out of new possessions or incomes (incomes being always new possessions or profits), the taxed property would all eventually determine its own confiscation and become the property of the government, as could be the result were the ethics of a single land tax in force.

But the truth remains that as possessions and property still remain in the hands of the individual, and the taxes are nevertheless paid, that it is new possessions which always pays the tax. This would apply with equal force were the tax on any kind of things. If the tax were continuous on existing things, these things would eventually be completely consumed, as nothing possesses or retains the power or ability of continuous taxation. Taxes are always and only based upon presumed revenue, not upon existing possessions.

Under the inequity of existing ethics, the taxes

being specific and in kind are often resolved (on account of the varyings or phenomena of nature, or too large a production to enable a reciprocal exchange, which prevents any net revenues being realized therefrom) into taxing the loss; not taking the profit which the law undoubtedly intended should only be taxed.

So false philosophy and imperfect education lures men on to their own final destruction.

The necessity or the requirements for government increases with the displacement of industry or the wickedness of the people. In a full industrious people one need never look for a wicked people, as the fact of industry is a sure evidence of worth, and a prevention of the crimes and perversities of idleness.

A proposition is often submitted that even were a single graduated net profit tax enacted, how could the true exaction of such a tax ever be made possible?

This proposition need not be entertained in seeking simply for the truth as to the correctness of the proposition itself, or as to the justice of the embodiment of such a tax as the new ethic. But simply has the time arrived at maturity when in consequence of the advanced knowledge and wants of mankind, and the depressions, hardships, insecurities, immoralities and uncalled-for inequities, largely superinduced by the constant progress being made in the arts and sciences to cast aside existing ethics, to which is to be attributable existing harshnesses, and conform

our society and its conditions to a system of ethics consistent to and in consonance with the natural conditions and the people's necessities.

Prejudice and clamor will make obstructions and do all things possible to choke the channels through which truth flows into practice. But truth will prevail and accomplish the purposes that a just nature provides.

XIV.

ETHIC OF PENAL LABOR.

Philanthropists and pretended economists assume that justice, wisdom and economy demand that the compulsory service of the criminal should be utilized to the fullest possible extent and purpose.

The economists contend that it is unjust to the virtuous of society to place the burden upon them of maintaining in idleness and uselessness those who, through either a natural instinct or false education, will not live in peace, security and harmony with their fellow-man, and in accordance with the laws governing society.

Therefore they should be set to work at an industry of which they were already cognizant, or made to learn such a calling as might be suitable to their natural abilities, and the results from the sales of their industry disposed of to the consumptive powers of the industry of the virtuous so as to assist toward, or to sustain the expense of their compulsory imprisonment.

Philanthropists claim that crime is largely the result of a first and false inculcation, fostered by the surroundings and hardships of early life, which refused or prevented the criminal from learning or

following an industry which could secure the earning of a livelihood, of natural disabilities which prevented the discovery to the criminal of right from wrong, and that society itself was largely responsible for the conditions and the causes which leads to many criminal acts.

Therefore, although society itself cannot endure and maintain the liberty of the criminal, as it would lead to greater immorality and crime, and be a constant menace to its own security, it owes a duty to itself and to the criminal to right the wrong that it was in part the cause of, and during the compulsory imprisonment of the criminal to use every effort to effect a reformation, so as to finally resolve the criminal into a virtuous member of society.

To further this purpose he should be taught and kept at an industry somewhat suitable to his natural abilities, and to enable his own care at the time of his liberty; and a certain small sum should be daily allowed and reserved for him during his imprisonment, so as to assist him to provide for himself at the time of his release or until a new employment could be secured.

Both resort to the same means, both attain the same results; but from a far different purpose and object.

Neither are consistent or in correct harmony with the reasonings of a true philosophy, or with a justice that is due to society itself.

As long as nature and man display present attri-

butes or propensities, society will be compelled to deterrent laws to secure as far as possible a restriction against that part of society which is easier inclined to wickedness or immorality, or what organized society calls such.

In earlier civilization they avoided the care and the expense of the criminal, or the reputed criminal, by depriving them of life for even the most trivial of offenses. This, however, evidenced their lack of humanity or natural justice, and would not be in accord with advanced civilization and knowledge.

Deterrent laws should deprive convicted criminals of their liberty, and humanity also dictates that every just effort should be made to induce and instruct them to the path that would lead them to a virtuous and reformed future life.

But great care should be exercised that this did not interfere with and prevent the life of those already virtuous and instructed, and who through a lack of such care might be forced to a life of wickedness and immorality themselves.

This would be harsher and more unjust than simply to hold, secure and provide for the already criminal, even if they remained criminal; for they might be led to crime through a natural disposition which no education or punishment will ever subdue.

In the other case a condition is created by society itself which may force the virtuous to immorality, and the shame alone of the crime will almost tempt and hold them to continued crime.

The actual criminal class is always the small minority of society, otherwise society could not exist and maintain itself against the attacks of the majority.

Prudence should teach the wise to use no means which might reverse this truth.

It might be claimed that these are reasonings which have no bearing upon actual facts.

Yet under present ethics and the constant improvements made in all the arts, a condition has been positively realized which fully justifies the aforesaid reasonings.

In consequence of these improvements and new methods of production, the virtuous industry itself is being constantly pushed out of almost all industries and forced upon a cheerless world to trust to the humane for support, to commit crime, or to their own destruction to escape the torments of wretchedness.

And so-called philanthropy and economy contend that it is just, and wise, and prudent, and virtuous, to employ, use and utilize the labor of the criminal, to the still further hardships and sufferings of the industrious virtuous.

What is to be looked for from such judgments but a constantly maintained and increased crime, forcing the industry of the virtuous, who by their own labors have the life of themselves and their dependents to sustain, in competition with the industry of the criminal and immoral, who in addition to a saved and

protected stipend for future support is fully cared for by the state itself.

And then call these injustices philanthropy and economy, and call your government the contrary of paternal. Paternal government would seek to defend, protect and support the virtuous only. This contrary to paternal system encourages vice at the cost of virtue.

They talk of a creation that is paved with good intentions, but many men positively pray to be freed from entering its portals. Here also the intent may be meant for a good, but the result and effect produced is worse than a crime.

Nature truly demands that all men should be kept in action, in motion, so as to maintain a physical health, while compulsory confinement denies the action and motion, the state restricting the free motion of the criminal.

Yet the state can easily maintain this action, this motion, by juster methods than the destruction and impoverishment of the industry of the virtuous.

They might be kept at industry breaking stones, making and repairing roads, or if this were not in line with a full justice to the criminal, have them taught an industry suitable to their natural abilities; have them supply themselves to the extent of their own needs, hinder any further production, and never allow the product of the criminal to be placed in competition with virtuous industry.

If the state owes the criminal a duty—it also owes

the virtuous of society a greater duty—let it pay that duty as a just and virtuous state should do, no matter at what cost. What has cost got to do with right and justice? The criminal pays his penalty or duty, why should the state be freed?

It is to a false, immoral system of ethics that these conditions are attributable to. Individual man seems to forget justice, but constantly preaches of economy as if that were the acme of human life. To most men it would seem that economy is a saving to them of a cost, a closer hoarding of their own stores or possessions.

This supposed savings of a cost called economy, is false in theory as well as in fact, because its effect on the industry of the virtuous and the reduction to the reputive values of production caused by the competition of unpaid or poorly paid criminal labor, is indirectly manyfold more costly to total society than the presumed savings.

Because there is no such thing as economy in the necessary requirements and uses of life, for the term economy has no valid claim except as to waste, and waste cannot enter into the requirements of society to care for its criminal classes and secure its own protection.

This pretense of economy as a waste is purely imaginary, as the cost of the care of the criminal would all flow back through the channels of industry to the sources from whence it came.

"Come, come, Charles, you ought not to go on forever throwing money out of the window."

"Why not?" he asked with eyes wide open.

"Why? because it is wasted."

"Wasted," said Charles. "Not at all. There is always somebody under the window who picks it up."

Were a system of natural ethics substituted in place of the present immoral and inequitable system, an ethic which would always secure the industry of the whole; such conditions, such immoralities, such inequities, would be an almost impossibility. And individual man would not be constantly prating, in the hope of a supposed individual gain, of an economy which constantly leads to inequity, injustice and crime.

It is true that the greed of man, coupled with improvements in the industries, creates so harsh a competition among many as to hardly enable life; that in many instances even the wage of the virtuous, is reduced to a bare sustenance. This is both wicked and immoral, but it is due to the ethics to which unfortunate man had given his consent.

Suppress penal labor, suppress existing ethics, relieve virtuous industry, let man live.

XV.

ETHIC OF LABOR UNIONS.

None ever dispute the axiom that "self-preservation is the first law of nature."

All laws that have ever been formulated has ever maintained this axiom as its first or elementary principle of justice.

Society or government itself is formed with this object first in view, to protect themselves from the aggressions and wrongs of others. All other rules and laws as between themselves as to internal regulations, are first made subject to this great need or truth.

Therefore, on first principles, labor unions, or congregations of men in the employ of the different industries who form themselves into combinations or unions to protect and maintain themselves and their interests in and to their own industry, have an equable and a proper basis.

It might be contended that for such purposes government itself is formed, but this is not strictly in line with the truth ; as under present ethics the government function ceases at the protection to life and the security to possessions

It in nowise protects and defends man as to his

necessity to employment, to his wage or to his hours of service, or to his ability to secure sustenance to life.

Though the ethics which govern and control labor unions might be subject to great criticism, the union itself is based upon the equitable and eternal law of self-preservation.

Labor unions only become necessary and possible when the industry necessary to life itself is difficult to obtain, or the conditions of production such as to deny their service, or the greed, selfishness or necessities of commercial laws—of those who employ the industries, such as to deny to the employed a just merit for the service given.

The first and second condition constantly manifest themselves during the steady possession of the progress in the arts and sciences, by enabling an equal production of all the industries without the use of a full employ.

This enables an almost dictatorial adjustment of wage, irrespective as to service rendered, as the needs of the service is much fewer than the quantity of the services offered; or in other words the supply is far in excess of the demand.

Or even were individual man in some cases justly inclined he might be forced to the same reduction in wages to be paid to that paid to others engaged in the same industry, so as to allow him a competition in his own industry.

To avoid the inequalities and harshness that these

conditions produce in the industries, labor unions become an almost necessity, so as to attempt by the strength and combinations of numbers to somewhat equalize and adjust these conditions, and secure a just wage for rendered service.

It is only to the ethics which control the internal affairs, and consequently the external affairs, of the labor unions, that objections can be applied.

Attempting to restrict by the force of indignation, threat, or to use a latter-day expression, "boycott" the industry of those who from natural inclination, or reasons most suitable to themselves, refuse to join their organization, is an injustice, a wrong.

Attempting to regulate by force to all employed, or who employ, a unity as to the rate of wage that must be paid to all members of their unions, irrespective of the ability of the individual, or the ability of the services rendered, is an inequity.

Attempting to coerce (by the force of organization) in some cases the quantity of the work to be done daily by their members; in other cases the number of the hours of employ is a further injustice.

These acts are inconsistent with the reasonings of philosophy toward accomplishing the ends that are sought for.

Avoiding or denying the rights to any individual to industry, because he refuses to become a party to an organization, is contrary to the rights and liberty of the individual and in positive contrariety to the natural law.

Nature in nowise indicates that organization takes precedence to industry, but that industry only and always is the prerequisite of nature to secure man's sustenance.

Compelling a unity of wages or hours of service are both contrary to natural laws when applied to individual man, as nature does not grant an equal ability as to services or reciprocal exchange value, which is the basis of all equity, by the difference in the individual, which in some might be inclined toward industry and more eminent ability, in others toward idleness and shiftlessness.

By the further fact that such enforcements as to wages and times of service is prejudicial to all men's ambitions and emulations, the greatest safeguard to the security of society.

The forces at work to destroy and disturb the industry of man, and which avoids his ability of service, are natural forces, made harsh only through the false ethics of man, and can only be adjusted by natural methods, not by artificial methods or hothouse pressure.

If the improvements made in the arts and sciences enable equal production of all that total man can use, requiring the use or employ of but part of the people, the employ of the unrequired help cannot be forced on the individual industry by attempting to compel a uniform rate of wages or hours of service.

Regulating the hours of service, were it not con-

trary to the ambitions and emulations of man, and restrictive to individual liberty, might be the most intelligent of the two reliefs suggested. But wages cannot be maintained or increased, or the hours of service lessened as the necessity for man's employment diminishes.

Constant new improvements in the industries would increase the idleness; and readjustment would be a continuous necessity to maintain equality.

These consequences would not be in line with natural requirements, which demand the industry of the whole, so as to allow a fuller and a freer enjoyment of all nature's bounties.

The greed of man, or the laws governing commerce as to supply and demand, may make the hardships of industry so intense as to compel men to even desist from that portion of work which is still left them, and endeavor by the force of strikes to try and better their condition.

In the attempt to carry these strikes to a beneficial consequence, it often becomes necessary to prevent other unemployed from supplying the industry left idle by themselves.

In an effort to accomplish this, and frenzied over their own circumstances, force is often resorted to, hoping thereby to secure a successful result to their purpose.

To use such force does not harmonize with the requirements of organized society, or with the interests which are in nowise connected with the strike inter-

ests; and is severely condemned by most all but the strike interests as prejudicial to the security of society!

All such interests maintain that they are in full sympathy with the strike as long as the strikers maintain peace and security, and do not interfere with the requirement to labor, of other idle people.

If the strikers would but stay at home and await with calmness and despair the approach of starvation and consequent death, they would retain this benevolent sympathy.

Strikes are in most cases futile; they do not increase the demand for, or improve their own employ; they cannot stay the improvments in the arts, for this is nature's bounty; they can in nowise increase the industry of the whole, for that will be governed by the commercial laws of supply and demand. Yet the industry of the whole would be the only relief to all the trials and difficulties of the different industries.

In so far as labor unions demand industry, and a full reciprocal exchange value for that industry, it evidences the justice of their demands, which are in line with nature's requirements.

Using their efforts to suppress existing ethics and substituting therefore natural ethics, would secure all that they seek for, and for which they unions contend.

XVI.

"STRIKES."

When a cessation from labor or production (or that which is called a strike) takes place in any special industry—if there were no accumulated production of that commodity stored—there would be either a loss of the consumption of that special production of the industry that was on a strike, or the securement of an analogous production of another industry which would be utilized by, and disposed of to the consumptive powers of the community, in the place of the production of the stayed industry. If there were a stored or an accumulated supply of the production of the stayed industry, there could be no actual loss to the industry "on a strike," or to the total of the community; as this accumulated supply would indicate the fact that the prior industry (that was then "on a strike") had been in excess of the natural requirements; that the toilers in that special industry had already secured and enjoyed an advanced and extra prosperity; and that the time and labor lost to the industry, in consequence of the then stoppage of labor, had already been anticipated, provided and rewarded for by an earlier, even though it were a hurried industry.

If on the contrary there did not exist an accumulated and stored supply of the production of that special industry, but that the needs of the community was being supplied by an analogous production of another industry, there could be no loss to the prosperity of the total of the community; from the fact that the loss of the industry and consequent prosperity by that part of the community that was "on a strike" would be fully offset by the increased industry and prosperity of that part of the community, which was then supplanting the production of the industry "on a strike."

If neither of the above cited conditions existed in the case of "a strike," in any special industry, it would indicate the fact of a complete cessation of the consumption of the production of that special industry; and a total loss of labor and prosperity, to that portion of the community "on a strike," and a loss to the total of the community of what would have been their productions, were they at industry.

This condition seldom, if ever, takes place in any commercial community.

From the fact that it would indicate an absolute uselessness for the need of the consumption of the production which had been stayed.

From the fact that were there a demand for the use of the production, an extended or disastrous strike, or stoppage from industry, would be improbable, as the competition to supply the demand would quickly adjust the disputed claims.

It is undoubtedly true that many of the productions of the different industries were unknown to the earlier human races, being largely the productions of the results realized from the great and continuous advances and progress made in all the arts and sciences; and might therefore be placed as belonging to the luxuries of the human race, not to the actual needs or necessities.

But usage, habit and custom finally becomes so inveterate a desire in all humankind, that all its needs or luxuries, and luxuries finally determine themselves into necessities, must be and will be furnished, provided the consumers possess the reciprocal exchange value to secure such needs and luxuries; as nothing that the beneficence of nature provides for the use or comforts of the human race is intended for, or has a right to be termed a uselessness.

To prove by the data of statistics the losses occasioned in certain industries as a result of "a strike," or a cessation from labor in any special industry, or even in a part of such industry, fails to carry the essence of truth as its base, and is deceptive and delusive as to a fact; for although it may truthfully determine the loss to certain members of the community, a consequence of their idleness, it does not truthfully submit the fact that this idleness may have already received its reward (in a stored accumulation of the production of the stayed industry) in an earlier, and hurried industry, or that the losses to the delayed or stayed industry may

have been fully offset and gained by the increased industry and prosperity of other portions of the same community.

It might be claimed that a stoppage of the production of the parts of any special industry carries with it a necessity on the part of other portions of the community to refrain from the consumption of such productions. The justice of this proposition will not submit to the reasonings of a true philosophy.

It would indicate the conclusion that there was no stored accumulation.

That there was no analogous substitutive or equivalent production—a very improbable supposition.

Or that the actual use of this production was simply a uselessness or a waste; and that the time and the industry used in its production should be devoted to the production and accumulation of a useful need.

"Strikes," or cessation from special industry, are usually local in their action and existence, not general; the total effects resulting from these strikes can therefore never be truthfully or justly exposed by deducing conclusions from its effects on the actual portions of the industry "on strike."

"Strikes" are usually caused from and the result of special conditions. These conditions may arise from many and various causes, but are usually precipitated through a visible excess of supply over demand.

This excess of supply over demand need not necessarily imply an excessive supply of production over

demand for consumption, but would involve and determine the same as to a result if it arose from the fact of an excess of supply of industry, requisite to enable a necessary production.

For such a fact would encourage and stimulate the greed of the individual leaders of such special industries to secure to themselves the benefits and advantages that this excess of labor enabled.

This largely displays itself and evidences the correctness of the aforesaid reasonings, when "strikes" take place among the industry employed on railroad or such like service. When "a strike" takes place for an increase of wages or for a retention of wages opposing a threatened reduction, it always indicates the conclusion that there is an excess of labor, anxious to displace or supplant the employed industry. If such were not the case "the strike" would not fail of an early and successful accomplishment, as the leaders of the industry would otherwise greatly endanger and jeopardize their own prosperity and property; and this is always carefully avoided.

A reduction of wage, or increase of hours of service, the general cause of strikes, is never threatened, attempted or undertaken, unless the supply of the production is in excess of the demand, which the reduction in the exchange value will quickly indicate; or where the excess or unemployed industry urges and uses every effort to force itself into employ, by offering its service at a reduced wage.

An excess of labor, or an excess of production over

demands for consumption, is wholly and solely an abnormal condition, superinduced by the constant progress being made in all the arts and sciences, which enables an ability to a steady increase of production, at a constant loss to the industry formerly requisite to an equal production.

By a false economy which avoids placing at a new industry, entirely remote and separate from that of the displaced industry, all the labor so displaced.

As long as these conditions remain in force "strikes" will be constant, common and continuous. They will expose themselves first at the different points of any special industry that is being most harshly pressed, by either or any of the different conditions heretofore cited.

They can never be equitably adjusted by any local treatment, or a compromised or arbitrated expediency. Such efforts always tend to a final greater harshness. They would not be natural solutions and would therefore be ineffective. To exemplify:

Allow the consumptive powers of the community to require the production of ten thousand pairs of shoes yearly to supply the demand. Let the shoe industry be extended over ten different sections of the whole, represented by the alphabet, A to J inclusive, each section producing one thousand pairs of shoes; the number of people employed in the shoe industry at one hundred, or ten to each section, the average per diem wages of those employed in the industry at one dollar. Let these figures be accepted

as exposing the true and full condition of the shoe industry.

The figures given in this exemplification need have no bearing in seeking the truthfulness of this exposition; they being only adopted as a base or unit to deduce conclusions from.

Improvements in the methods of making shoes (invented and perfected in the sections D and E, a result of the progress in the art) enables a production at an equal cost as to the labor itself, of two thousand pairs of shoes to each of the sections D and E, without increasing or decreasing the necessity of any further or less employ of the number of those employed in these sections.

This excess of two thousand pairs of shoes by sections D and E will cripple to that extent all of the industry employed in the other eight sections of the same industry, or to an equal of one-fifth of their production; as ten thousand pairs of shoes is all that can be consumed by the total of the community with all at industry.

If these eight sections attempt to compel or maintain a competition as to production and disposition or sale of the same, with the advanced or progressive sections D and E, it could only be fully and freely effected by reducing the rate of wages paid to all employed in said sections, to the full extent of the total improvement made.

This, however, can never be done effectively or permanently, as these improvements (in order to

enable a livelihood) must finally be extended to all of the sections, and eventually drive out of the industry fifty or one-half of those originally employed in the same. To illustrate:

In the original or normal condition of the industry let it be accepted that the cost of the material required in each pair of shoes was equal to one dollar, the cost of the labor to one dollar, or a total of two dollars.

In sections D and E, under their improved condition the cost of the material would still remain at one dollar, but the cost of the labor would be reduced to fifty cents, or a total of one dollar and a half.

This would compel the leaders in the other eight sections of the industry, if they wished to remain at their industry, either to reduce the wages of their employees fifty per cent or one-half, or to compel a displacement or discharge and consequent loss from employment or industry to one-fifth of the total of the industry, so as to try to sustain the maintenance of a reciprocal exchange value between their different exchanges of commodities.

Though this discharge of industry need not necessarily be immediate it would correspondingly and relatively have to be continued as fast as these improvements were being adopted by the different sections employed in the industry.

It is true that if the increase in the production could be limited to sections D and E, and did not exceed but a total of one-fifth in quantity as the total supply would bear to the total demand, it

would not at once necessitate a reduction of fifty per cent. in the wages of those employed in the other sections of the industry, but it would gradually resolve itself toward that condition, as the pressure of the displaced or unemployed industry, to reinstate themselves in employ, will constantly tend to a further degradation or reduction as to wages paid.

This cannot be adjusted by a forced effort to restore wages to their original or normal condition, through combinations of those employed in the industry, known as labor unions, compelling their members to cease from labor and go on "a strike;" or by what is often delusively hoped for as a true and just method of adjustment, namely, "arbitration" as between the employer and employed. Both methods are unnatural, indecisive, incomplete, and fail to adjust the difficulties that the special industry is suffering under, namely, an adjustment and maintenance of the supply as to the demand, both as to the production itself and as to the retention in such industry of the original members of the same.

And it would be impossible of execution, either through the results of a "strike" or "arbitration;" either effort might secure immediate and temporary success through the force of local or selfish interests (such as large and uncompleted contracts or obligations on the part of the employer), but cannot be permanently effective, as force should not be allowed to enter into the adjustment of any differences, or supposed difficulties between the individuals. All

such force is destructive to the individual rights and ambitions, and will always be finally reversive to prosperity.

Force, through "strikes" or "arbitration," as to the adjustment of wages, cannot possibly result in changing or modifying the conditions, "that the actual or visible supply will bear to the demand," in the deranged or disturbed industry, and this fact will always be the absolute factor.

Were the greed or avarice of any of the individual leaders of the industry the sole cause of the debasement of the wages a resort to a "strike" or "arbitration," or the force of an indignant public opinion, might induce and compel a restitution of the original wages.

But this is seldom if ever the only cause, though it might appear so to the members of the affected industry. There might no doubt be instances where the leaders would use every effort to maintain the full value of their productions, and at the same time be disparaging the service, and the value of those employed in their special industry; but the aggressive competition which exists in all the industries, and the compulsion to submit to the forces of the condition that the visible supply of the production bore as to the actual demand, would be the final and only true arbitrator, as to the adjustment of all industrial or commercial conditions.

"Strikes" are in all ways bad things; rarely if ever accomplishing the desired end; but until a natural

solution is found and accepted which will relieve the constantly recurring and increasing harshness of the conditions, that every new improvement in the arts and sciences precipitate and occasion, they will be constant in their repetition and recurrence. They can secure no permanent relief, but always intensify the hardships of those who engage in the same.

The harshness of the depressions in all of the commercial industries of the so-called civilized world, and the bearings thereon on the earnings, are wholly and solely the result of the constant and steady progress made in all the arts and sciences, which enables an equal or increased production of all of humankind's needs and desires; a lessening of the wages of those employed, and a still further displacement of the industry to the equivalent extent of the gain or benefit secured in the improvement made.

When the ethics governing the industrial conditions are natural ethics, which will secure, sustain and enable the industry of the whole, irrespective of all or any progress that the arts and sciences may develop in the industries, strikes, labor unions, arbitration, or force, will fail of purpose or need of existence as the industry of the whole itself ensures an equitable system, just wages, and a permanent prosperity.

XVII.

HOURS OF LABOR.

That ancient Russian maxim that "Novelty brings calamity," that had its origin, its growth, its strength and its adherents, in a land and an age where ignorance, bigotry, fanaticism and brutality governed and controlled its people, seems to have spread its cloak and its pernicious teachings over a much larger part of so-called civilization than only in that dark region in which it found its birth.

Agitation is always healthier than stagnation; but stagnation is willing, contented and insistent with the conditions that are; while agitation carries with it a discontent, a desire to be freed from the stagnation by which it is environed.

Agitation indicates novelty, and novelty as to the conditions of humankind carries with it a constant agitation; an opening up, or a development of the human reason; whereby old saws and maxims, old and accepted systems, conditions, ways and doings, must give way to the teachings of a higher and a better life.

If it were truthful that "novelty brings calamity," the world of so-called civilization has been flooded

with calamities; for novelties or progress, like the stars in the heavens, will soon be countless.

This maxim, this argument that "novelty brings calamity," will not submit to the strong and far-seeing lights of truth and justice, searching into its equity, or its nakedness. It comes down to us from the ages when the brutal argument, "might makes right," held full force; when humankind was slow to perceive right from wrong; seldom seeing the truth in its purity.

If novelty brought calamity, all the progress that the human race has developed must have sunk it deeper into the slough of ignorance, brutality, bigotry, fanaticism, barbarism, suffering, despondency, want.

Is this truthful as to the history of novelty, of progress, of civilization? Bear in mind the progress made in this the nineteenth century.

At the beginning of this century very little labor-saving machinery was in use. The farmer's best plow was made of wood, drawn by a yoke or yokes of oxen. One man drove the team, another held the plow, and sometimes another to keep it clear, two men plowing from one to one and a half acres per day.

Plows now made of polished steel, drawn by horses, controlled by one man, can plow more than five acres, much better than earlier man could plow one. Where steam is used the result would be doubled. This determines the fact that the ability of produc-

tion has increased from five to tenfold. Is this a calamity?

Seed was sown by hand taken from a bag which hung on the shoulder. Now a machine controlled by a boy will do three times as much work and better. All the preliminary processes of agriculture have submitted to equal changes.

When grain was ripe for the harvest a quarter of an acre of grain cut with the sickle was the result of a long and hard day's work. Now a reaping machine, drawn by a pair of horses, will often reap twenty acres a day, or eighty times the result, as against one hundred years ago.

And these conclusions are based upon a ten-hour working day. In the days when the use of the hand sickle was common, the working days often dragged into fifteen hours of labor. Would the conclusions deduced from these facts indicate a calamity?

Earlier man bound the wheat in sheaves after it was cut, and storing it after harvest, found winter work in thrashing it with flails. Present man sends machines into the fields which gather it up, thrash it, winnow it, and sack it all ready for market.

In some sections of this bountiful land the machines have reached so great a perfection that the grain is cut, thrashed, winnowed, sacked, and left in rows ready for marketing, where but a few moments before stood the golden grain untouched, inviting to its harvest.

Can a wonderful increase of all the productions

necessary to the uses, needs, desires or luxuries of the human race, at an enormous saving of the labor formerly requisite to its production, be considered as a calamity?

Take our great corn crop. One hundred years ago one man in a long day's work could hoe half an acre—to-day one acre an hour, or twenty times as much; while the modern plow, cultivator, and harrow, so improves the condition of the ground as to make a marked increase in the crop.

Formerly one man would shell twenty bushels of corn in a long hard working day, now by the improved methods working ten hours a day, he can shell one hundred and twenty bushels. All these results are the offshoots of novelty. Can they be ranked as calamities?

In manufactures the same relative degree of improvement and production has taken place. Early in the century looms and spinning-wheels were to be found in almost every farmhouse, where from the sheep raised on the farm the wool was carded at the farmhouse; the flax there grown was broken and hatcheled by hand, while the women were almost constantly employed carding and spinning, and in weaving the woolen and linen cloths that clothed the family.

Now all is changed. The hand card, the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom belong to the curiosities of the past.

The carding machines, machine spindles, and

power looms have taken their places; and the labor of one pair of hands, guiding and controlling the same, turns out one hundred yards of cloth, where but one yard was formerly produced by hand.

A carpenter would formerly build a house from sill to ridgepole: with whip saws turn the logs into boards, hew the timbers, rive and shave the shingles, tongue and groove and dress the flooring; dress and prepare the lumber for doors, windows and frames; work out the moldings, ornaments and all kinds of finishing.

Now all is changed. Machinery makes the bricks and saws the logs. The planing machine does the planing, tongueing and grooving; the molding machines the molding; doors, windows, blinds, shingles, all made by machinery; and the human but puts their parts together in their places as prepared.

Machinery does nine-tenths of the labor, the human muscle the remainder. In the building interests alone, machinery does at least ninety per cent. of the labor, displacing the human industry to that extent; and this relative condition exists in almost every one of the human industries.

Take mining. The early miner washed his gold in a pan or wooden cradle, into which was placed a few shovelfuls of earth; rocking the cradle with one hand, and pouring water in with the other. Now the water is conducted from some high point to a favorable position over the placer; from whence it is brought in hose to the washings, where, rushing with

great power through the nozzle of the hose, it is turned against the solid hills of dirt and gravel, which it cuts down and dissolves; carries the same, at times, miles away through sluices to a favorable dumping place, leaving the gold deposited in the sluice; and the same great progress in the method of production applies to all manners of mining. In quartz, silver, coal, iron, all of the metals and minerals, one man completes the work that formerly required twenty men.

If these novelties, these improvements continue, there will be no known limit to the possibilities of production.

With these facts for the human guide, let philosophy answer, Does novelty bring calamity?

Early in the century the working day, in addition to being very tiresome and laborious, often extended its labors to fifteen hours or more daily. Agriculture, the life of the people, was uncertain in quantity, in quality; the result of crudeness and imperfectness of method of working, and the result of the labor employed often failing to supply the necessities of life. And this applied with equal force to all the productions of life.

Now one man completes the labor that formerly required fully ten men. Productions are reduced to an almost certainty. Results of productions increased many fold; the tiresomeness, laboriousness and harshness of the labor materially lessened the condition of the ground so improved as to make a marked increase

in the quantities of the production, the number of the hours of labor reduced to ten, and in many cases to eight hours, an almost fifty per cent; and no new hardships discoverable, as an offset to all the gained advantages, but an inability on the part of many of the people to maintain a consumption equal to the increased production.

And the ability to enable and allow consumption cannot be maintained, except the consumer possesses a reciprocal exchange value to warrant the same. This is one of the inexorable laws of commerce, even of nature.

Yet a betterment of all the conditions as to the necessities of life, carrying in its train as an accompaniment a lightening of all the toils and labors of life, a lessening of the hours of labor; whereby mankind has more leisure to enjoy all the givings and delights of a beneficent and bounteous nature must fail to be classed as a calamity.

Novelty has not brought calamities but charities, blessings. It is but the ignorance, the stubbornness, the perversities, the narrow-mindedness of man, that fails to realize, to secure what is so fully, so freely offered for their use and well-being; it is their blind adherence to the forces of the past, to the false economies, the false teachings of earlier and undeveloped civilization, which prevents their seeing the truth in its purity.

Men must first learn to blush for their ignorance before they can be expected to cure themselves of it.

In this fierce struggle with the forces of the past we must hasten to open up all the natural channels which the progress in the arts and sciences encourage us to develop.

If the effects in our day of eight hours' labor produces more and better results, as to the needs, uses, desires, or luxuries of life, a greater production than the ability to consumption can dispose of; would a further reduction in the hours of labor to that requisite, or presumptively requisite, to equalize and offset the advantages accrued through the manner and method of production, enable the ability to consumption as to the production, so as to maintain a reciprocal exchange value?

This admits of the truthfulness of an affirmation and a negation, or a direct contradiction.

In the super-plentifulness of production, nature concedes the intent of lightening the tasks and toils of mankind; in the lessening of the hours of labor, this intent would be not only fully assured, but if the hours of labor were sufficiently lessened to enable the employ of all that were inclined to, and desirous of employ or industry, it would maintain a reciprocal exchange value to all the productions, which would also be in accord with the laws of commerce.

If as at present eight hours of labor is in excess of the ability of consumption as to production, whereas in the beginning of the century fifteen hours of labor often failed to secure an assured sufficiency, would not an equilibrium, as between supply and demand, be

greatly enhanced by reducing the daily hours of labor to six hours or less?

It is undoubtedly true that general mankind is far more luxurious in all the uses of life than mankind was in the beginning of the century. All his requirements, as well as his consumption, is far in excess of the demands and requirements of his ancestors; and this is on a line with the great progress made in the arts and sciences, with the purposes of nature.

Mankind of to-day with one-half of the labor secures ten times the productions to that of his ancestors (and this fact will in nowise be disturbed, in consequence of the great increase of population). If his consumption of the productions was not greatly in excess of that of his ancestors, with this increase of productions, it would have been simply impossible to maintain reciprocal exchange value to the products; and the object of the production would have lost its purpose and would have been stayed, not encouraged.

The fact of the increase of production determines the conclusion as to a comparative increase of consumption. A maintenance to consumption always indicates the retention of a reciprocal exchange value to the products; necessarily a relative employ to all the people.

This does not admit of disputation; where the production exceeds the consumption, it will not be maintained; as the excess of production evidences an inability to a full consumption, or relatively an

idleness of the community, or of the consumer, to the extent of the excess of the production. Necessarily in such a condition a reciprocal exchange value cannot be maintained; this fact will quickly expose itself and result in the staying or stoppage of the industry of the productions that were in excess.

It might possibly occur, more particularly as a consequence of the rapid progress made in all the arts and sciences, that even with a full employ of all the industry of the community, that there could be an excess of production beyond the needs or possibilities of consumption of the entire community.

In such a case as this—and this condition would also be quickly exposed, in order to realize a reciprocal exchange value as to the different commodities—there would be a hurried effort to stop the production of the commodities that were in excess, which would entail in consequence a discharge of the industry that was in excess, to the extent requisite to modify the productions equal to the excess over consumption.

In either of the conditions just cited a reduction in the hours of labor to equalize the conditions, as to supply and demand, or production as to consumption, would be in full accord with the natural purposes; which allows of the excess of the production, without the penalty of the toil; would secure the commercial necessity as to a reciprocal exchange value, as to all of the commodities; would maintain the industry of the whole, a prerequisite to the virtue, the morality, the peace, security and prosperity

of the community, avoiding all of the harshness and suffering which the failure to adjust and to maintain the adjustment of these conditions entail. To exemplify:

Represent a community of one thousand inhabitants, divided up and employed in all of the different industries, necessary to the production of all the commodities that go to make up the uses, needs, desires or luxuries of humankind. All are at industry, and all produce a sufficiency of their own productions, to enable a full reciprocal exchange value in their interchange of their commodities.

They average a daily service of ten hours' labor, and must be constantly maintained at labor, to produce a sufficiency to supply all their requirements. Let the average daily earnings be one dollar, or one thousand dollars to the entire community.

Among the different industries represented by one-half or five hundred of the community, improvements in the method of production finally enables double the former production, if the members of these different affected industries were still kept at employment, and working their full ten hours of daily service.

This condition, however, could not possibly be long continued, as the excess of production would soon flood the markets, and the reciprocal exchange value would be lost; and this would not be limited to the affected industries alone, but would also directly affect all of the unaffected industries, as one-half of the total of

the community, namely, those in the affected industries, could not furnish a reciprocal exchange value to their commodities.

If the excess in the productions was offset by the discharge or dismissal of a sufficient number employed in the affected industries, so as to make the supply bear its equal proportion to the demand, and which would secure a full reciprocal exchange value, as to the different products it would require the discharge of, and displacement from industry of two hundred and fifty members, or one-fourth of the total of the community.

And such a fact would also influence the total of the community, both in the affected and unaffected industries; as the total earning capacity of all those employed in the industries would be reduced to seven hundred and fifty dollars, where it had formerly been one thousand dollars, and in addition, one-fourth of the total of the community to be maintained and sustained in idleness.

In such a condition as that just exemplified a concerted and consented reduction in the hours of labor or service, from ten hours daily to seven and a half hours (by the whole of the community of one thousand) taking those displaced in the affected industries, and placing them in the unaffected industries would again enable a daily or full earning capacity of one thousand dollars; employ the whole of the community; enable the full consumption of the full production; maintain a full reciprocal ex-

change value to all interchanges; lighten the toils and harshness of the whole of the community—would in nowise lessen, but would increase the total wealth; enable a higher and a better life in the added and unemployed time secured; giving to mankind fuller time to enjoy the beauties and delights that a generous nature furnishes, which would realize a higher and a juster moral discernment; growing mankind closer to nature's purposes.

But a concerted and consented reduction in the hours of service or labor, by each and every one of the community, is improbable, and impractical of execution. As to a compulsory reduction, through the powers of the government, as to the hours of service or labor, as between the individuals or the individual industries (even if it were feasible of execution) there would be serious and fatal objections.

The undivided time, muscle, intellect or brain of the individual, is as much his property or possession as the rights to the property, things or possessions, which are accounted as the wealth of civilization. All the acknowledged and accepted wealths of civilization are wholly and solely the result of the time, muscle and brain, exercised in the production, development, completion and perfection of the same.

A restriction as to the rights or liberty of labor to the individual can in nowise fail to affect and to react as a restriction to the rights to possessions.

It were just as truthful, just as equitable, to compel each individual to a forced number as to his

hours of service or labor, as to restrict the individual from possessing or holding more than a given quantity of wealth or possessions.

Yet unless a uniform hours of service or labor was universal, either by unanimous consent or compulsion, so that it would secure a full and effective execution, it would fail to realize the result sought for, namely, the maintenance of an equilibrium, as between supply and demand; the securement of a reciprocal exchange value, as to humankind's interchanges.

Further, a compulsion as to the hours of service or labor, as between the individuals, would be fully destructive to the greatest gift that nature gave to mankind—the stimulus to human ambitions and emulations—the incentive to still greater efforts and effects. Without this stimulus, this incentive, the great purposes of nature would fail of effect; all progress, all improvements would cease, and humankind would finally revert to the conditions of the earlier civilizations, the earlier barbarisms.

Such cannot possibly be nature's purpose or intent. Mankind is being constantly gifted with newer, greater and nobler endowments; all tending to a higher, a less toilsome, a purer and a better life, and mankind must solve the problem that will lead to its full securement, its final realization. The barriers that stay its purpose, its progress, must be overcome, broken down.

A consented, equivalent, and universal reduction of the hours of labor or service, which would equalize

the conditions of supply as to demand, would secure the full realization of the natural purposes; but is impractical of securement, as the greed and selfishness of the individual would preclude a truthful enforcement or execution.

A compulsory governmental restriction as to the hours of labor or service would also be impractical of effective or truthful enforcement or execution; would be a direct attack on the liberty, possessions or property of the individuals. When compulsion supercedes consent, justice will lose its force; all individual liberty will be destroyed, and government will have resolved itself into the law of might, not of right.

To secure an equilibrium as to the conditions that the supply must bear to the demand, in order to maintain a reciprocal exchange value to all humankind's interchanges, the industry of the whole is the first and essential requisite. As an equitable and necessary adjustment of the relative hours of service or labor cannot be assured as to the individual and the individual industries, the industry of the whole can only be secured and maintained by placing all of the idle, and displaced industry, at industry, absolutely free and freed from any interference with any of the individual industries; but that would act and result in an encouragement and sustenance to all of the individual industries.

This can only be ensured by and through the government supervision and guidance, as to the employ

of all displaced or discharged industry; by contracting with and through the individual industries, for the erection, care and maintenance of public buildings, hospitals, colleges, libraries, museums, academies of design, great works of arts, statuary, aquariums, public roads and parks, horticultural, botanical and zoological gardens, stone piers to all harbors, in all manners and forms which result in a public good, and a public title to the good things thereby secured, and that in nowise interfere with, but sustain the individual industries.

In order to stimulate all of the individual industry to a still greater incentive, to a still greater progress, greater novelties, so as to lessen and lighten the toils and burdens of labor, the hours of labor, on all governmental enterprises should be made compulsively restrictive to six hours daily service.

Multiply the necessities for the requirement of labor's employ. The more multitudinous and multifarious the methods of service or labor that can be devised at which the human race can be divided as to their employs, the more happy, prosperous and contented will the human race become.

The results from labor, no matter in what manner or method created, so long as there is an interested and proper concern in the conduct and control of the labor employed, increases the total wealth of the community to the extent of the labor expended; maintains a reciprocal exchange value, as to the uses and consumption of the commodities, and encourages a still greater industrial progress.

The number of the hours of service for all employed on the government requirements, undertakings, or improvements, should not extend beyond six hours of daily service, so as to assist toward the securing of the equilibrium as to the necessity of the human employ, that the continued improvements made in the arts and sciences constantly disturb and displace.

The governmental hours of service should in nowise disturb the hours of service in vogue in that of any of the different individual industries; or in that of any of the individual industries that might be in part employed in the production of the requirements for the supply of any governmental contracts or purposes; but should be imperatively exacted as to all employ, from the moment that it came under the direct governmental control, supervision, surveillance and guidance.

This would absolutely and positively ensure a reciprocal exchange value, as to the commodities as well as to the labor expended and employed, as the results or the productions from the actual governmental employ is part of and belongs to all, and can in nowise disturb or injure any of the individuals or the individual industries.

The lessening of the hours of labor or service or the lightening of the human toils, is an encouragement and requirement of nature itself; this is manifested and fully expressed in the rapid development and progress being made in all of the individual in-

dustries whereby productions are either maintained or increased, at an immense saving of the time or labor formerly requisite to an equal production.

This fact can in nowise impoverish, but rather would constantly increase the total wealth, for as wealth consists only of things which go toward the uses, desires, necessities, or luxuries of the human race, the more prolific the quantity of the things produced, the greater the total wealth. The reputive or market value of the wealth produced, will either be increased or lessened by the comparative ability of the consuming classes as to a reciprocal exchange power as between the different commodities or wealths.

A full ability to consumption can only be secured by an employ to all the people, or a lessening of the hours of service to that requisite to equalize the conditions, as between the ability to production—as to the ability to reciprocal exchange as to consumption.

The lessening of the hours of service should not, however, be forced or made compulsory as to the individuals or the individual industries, but should be secured by a natural sequence, resulting from the increased demand for labor in the governmental requirements, and from the hours of service of the industry employed in all the requirements and undertakings of the actual governmental enterprises; the effects from which would quickly act and express itself throughout the individual industries by the securement of an equilibrium as between the supply and demand of labor itself.

Government is collective man, and needs no stin ulus to further any ambitions or emulations. Amb tion can never be collective; but is always and on individual. Government undertakings and posse sions belong to all, are a benefit to all, and cann possibly determine an individual injury.

Governmental compulsory restriction as to tl hours of labor or service on all governmental ente prises, by increasing the number to be employe through the governmental requirements, increases tl demand for labor by encouraging the individual i dustry to the securement of its full production; enables through the industry of the whole a retentic of all values and securities, and the power to a reci rocal exchange to all the interchanges between tl different industries.

When natural ethics, natural laws, become tl ruling force of government, the hours of service labor, as between the individuals, will adjust itself i conformity with the natural purposes as expresse thrcugh its givings, and a world of discontent, harsl ness, and often starvation, will give way to a world peace, contentment and prosperity.

XVIII.

GOVERNMENTAL OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL AS TO THE INDIVIDUAL INDUSTRIES.

The proposition that the governmental control of such of the individual industries as railroads, transportation, lighting of municipalities, etc., would afford the relief from the existing difficulties, which nearly all of the human industries are now suffering from, will not submit to the calm reasoning of a true philosophy.

Yet this proposition holds great force among many people, and is therefore entitled to a cautious and searching inquiry. Submitting the same to a philosophical exposition, the reasoning therefrom fails to realize the justice or efficiency of the proposition itself. To exemplify as to railroads:

Represent the total of the community at a population of seventy million inhabitants, dwelling in a territory covering a billion square miles. Let the total of the miles of transportation be allowed at two hundred thousand, the total yearly service five hundred million miles, and the number of the people employed in all the different branches necessary to enable a perfect service be computed at one million.

The figures given in this exposition as to number

of inhabitants, miles of transportation, total yearly service, or number employed in this special industry need have no bearing as to the actual facts, but will just as truly determine the truth or falsity of the philosophy.

Let it be conceded that all of the employ necessary to ensure a just and efficient service are at service; and that an excess of employ above what are at service would be destructive to the pecuniary prosperity and welfare of the industry; and would further indicate a partial idleness on the part of the employed, and consequently a failure to secure a reciprocal exchange value in services rendered as to the wages paid.

It might so happen that the greed and rapacity of the leaders of the industry might reduce the number that should be employed in the industry necessary to secure an efficient service, so as to ensure a greater gain to their own interests; causing an excessive and harsher service to those employed, and endangering the lives, necessities and comforts of the people.

In such a case as this just cited the government, as supervisory power, would have failed in its duties in not enforcing a perfect, secure, and protected service; to the fulfillment of which the retention of all charters, as to the right of way and service, should be fully subject.

Further, an inefficiency of service, or insecurity to service, would be destructive to the separate and individual interests of such industries, as it would

destroy the individual or the corporate property of the same, and thereby their final existence.

Yet a security and efficiency of service might still be maintained at the expense and greater hardship of the employed service, and secure thereby greater gains to the owners of the individual or corporate industries.

Such a condition, however, can never be fully secured, realized or made effective, except that the supply of service offered, or which can be readily secured, and which must be in excess of the actual demand or intelligent use, was using every effort to force itself into employ.

This would indicate that, in either of the cases cited above, either the government had failed in its duties in enforcing a just, true, and necessary service, and to which it had full power of control; or that the condition of the market, as to supply of labor offered, as to demand for service required, was in excess of all legitimate necessities.

Yet neither of these conditions would in anywise be changed or bettered by a change in the direction or ownership of any of the industries.

If the government displayed an ineffectiveness, or an inability as to its duty when its power was simply supervisory, it would in nowise indicate a superior ability, or a proper control, were its duty absolute as to ownership.

If the control or ownership of any of the industries were simply transferred from certain individual or

corporate title to other individual or corporate title; it would yet be subject to the same natural or commercial conditions, which will always govern all of the separate industries.

Mankind cannot change his individual selfishness or his greed, and will constantly strive to secure all of the advantages or gains in all of his enterprises or industries, that circumstances, or the conditions of his surroundings, will enable him to acquire. And this is in accord with the human ambition—nature's noblest gift to the human race.

If the supply as to his requirements are found to be in excess of his full demands, he will insist on and secure all the advantages to be gained from this relative inequality. Neither could the human ambition be gratified were there not an interested and proper concern as to the control of any or all of the industries.

And this interested and proper concern can never be manifested by or through the government control of the industries. Government has no ambitions to gratify, no interests to subserve, no penalties to incur; for there would be no individual or direct responsibility. If it failed to show a proper concern, a just and controlling guidance, with its functions but supervisory, yet with an absolute and indisputable power as to supervisory control; and an effective authority as to measure and method of penalty; absolute control of any of the industries (with no power to punish or to be punished for evasions or neglect of public duty) would be doubly ineffective.

And there could be no limit placed as to which of the industries would not be subject to its final control; for the causes which would or could compel or induce the governmental control of any of the different industries could finally extend itself so as to have to include all of the industries.

Such a condition would imply an absolute community of interests, or a common sharing of labor and its products. All would then belong to all, and no incentive to progress, or to a betterment of the individual condition would manifest itself. Human ambitions and emulations would then become a thing of the past, and humankind would steadily and readily revert to its earlier and barbarous conditions.

This would be contrary to the natural purposes which had filled the world with progress and plenty; which made human ambitions and emulations the human's greatest aim and purpose.

If the conditions, or the causes of the conditions, which led to the harsh industrial depressions (for the relief of which governmental control was sought), were such as to have failed of any relief or succor, through governmental supervision or enactments, in what measure could these conditions or the causes which created and led to these conditions be changed or modified by the transfer of the title to the industries from the individual to the government?

To revert to the figures of the exemplification as to the transportation industry. Whether the title to this industry were vested in the individual or in

the government, the population would still be seventy million; the territory they inhabited a billion square miles; the miles of transportation two hundred thousand; the total yearly service five hundred million miles; and one million of employed, the full complement necessary to make a perfect service.

If prior to any transfer of ownership the miles of transportation were either in excess or deficiency of the demands or requirements of population, it would simply indicate a lack of proper judgment on the part of the leaders; if they were in excess of the public requirements it would quickly expose itself by its loss of final or profitable revenue; if deficient the public demands and requirements would soon compel its acquisition, and this irrespective as to the investment of the title.

If one million people was the full complement necessary to ensure a perfect service, a lesser number would impair a perfect service, or increase the duties and hardships to those that were employed; thereby causing danger to both life and property; also endangering the final prosperity of the undertaking; a larger number in service than the one million would indicate a partial idleness or uselessness on the part of all of the employed, and a permanent pecuniary loss to the industry to the extent of the wages paid to the excess of employ; or a reduction of the wages of all employed to an amount equal to offset the excess of employ, and all this irrespective of the investment as to title.

A proposition might be submitted that in such a case government should restrict the number of hours of service or rate of wages that should govern in all of the individual industries; but such a course would be impractical of effective or rigid execution, and would also be a positive impairment as to the individual rights and liberties, and a further restriction as to the rights to possession or property; for a restriction as to the individual disposition of his own time and wages destroys his individuality.

Yet even such a restriction would be more effective as to the possibility of securing the needed relief, than the governmental acquisition of the industries could possibly secure, as it would still retain an interested and proper concern as to the management and control of any of the affected industries by the leaders of such industries; tending thereby toward securing a reciprocal exchange value as to the services to be rendered.

Governmental control and ownership of the industries cannot ensure a reciprocal exchange value as to the services to be rendered by its employees (and this is the first essential to a prosperous, happy and contented community), as there would be no interested or proper concern as to the pecuniary success or failure of the industry; it could in nowise affect or change the conditions of supply as to demand, either as to the productions, the requirements of transportation, migration or travel, or as to the quantity of service to be required.

Yet the adjustment of these conditions to their proper equilibrium is the only measure whereby relief from the hardships of the individual industries can be anticipated.

If, under governmental ownership of any of the industries, more people were employed than the necessities or the efficiency of the service demanded or required, or higher wages were paid to its employees than the same or equal service could be secured for in any of the individual industries, it would simply effect an immorality or an injustice on the part of the government; as the burden of any deficiencies would have to be borne and provided for by and through the results of the individual industries.

Reverting again to the original proposition: If the industry of transportation to the seventy million inhabitants demanded but two hundred thousand miles of lines of service, and that the legitimate demands and requirements of all the people, both as to the interchanging of their commodities and their individual migrations and travels, did not exceed but a total yearly service of five hundred million miles; and that the enablement of a perfect service, conforming to that in custom in the different individual industries, required but the employ of one million people; increasing that number to make special employ, or increasing the wage to those in government service, because there would be no interested, individual or proper concern, as to whether the results from the industry was a pecuniary success or

failure, would be an immorality on the part of the government as to its dealings with the people; would fail to secure a reciprocal exchange value as to services rendered; and could in nowise ameliorate or better the difficulties of the industrial conditions.

A change in the title of the transportation industry (or in any of the industries) can in nowise increase the use for a larger or a better service than the demands of the people call for; neither should such a change intelligently or honestly require a larger employ than an efficient service as to all that the requirements demand; and this service should always be maintained on a line with that of the different services in the other industries.

A change in the ownership or title to any of the industries can in nowise increase the demand for the use of, or the consumption of, the conveniences, luxuries or commodities of that industry. This must be and will be constantly controlled by the ability as to the reciprocal exchange power of those desirous of the use or the needs of such special industry.

A change as to ownership of title and thereby control of any special industry which resulted in an improved, more advantageous and more efficient result, as to its use, convenience or production, would no doubt increase and vivify the outcome of such special industry; but this increase would be at the loss of other equivalent service or production.

A natural increase of demand can only be the re-

sult of an increase of reciprocal exchange power on the part of the consumers, or more fully expressed in a betterment of the general conditions of all the people.

This betterment of the conditions of the people can only be attained, by a natural employment to all of the people desirous of such employment, or the industry of the whole. This employment must not, however, be strained or artificial, such as placing unemployed industry at an employ where the industry already at labor was fully equal to all the requirements; as that would be destructive of the first requisite or essential to a healthy and lasting prosperity, namely, a reciprocal exchange value as to the services to be rendered.

The more numerous the enterprises or undertakings at which the human race can be placed, the more prosperous, contented and happy will the human race become. Industry need not be restricted, to simply the productions that are actually necessary to the needs of the human race. The fact that the requirements, as to their needs or desires, has grown steadily with the growth of the knowledge and progress of the race, indicates the conclusion that mankind's needs grow as nature grows; the productions as well as the consumption of each succeeding generation being vastly in excess of that of the preceding generation.

The gift of the human senses was endowed by nature for mankind's uses, pleasures and gratifica-

tions. It is just as necessary that the eye shall be pleased with its sight, as the ear with its hearing; the nose with its smell, or the hand with its touch, as the tongue with its taste. Any measure of industry which can gratify or cause a pleasure to the human being, a relief or a delight to any of the human senses, after the industries of the actual necessities of life have been fully provided for, are as essential to the human happiness and prosperity as those industries that produce what are called the actual necessities.

The world of civilization can never be impoverished by the multiplication of the productions and uses of life; whether these productions are for purposes of needs or purposes of luxuries, as both the needs and the luxuries are in full accordance with the demands of the natural laws, as fully expressed through the teachings of the human senses.

If the growth of nature, as expressed through the growth and development of the arts and sciences, enabled an increased and abundant production of all the needs, uses or desires of the human race, at a constant lessening of the human toil; consequently also a lessening of the needs of the human service, to enable a full production; it indicates a natural intent that the displaced and unprovided-for industry or service should be placed at some absolutely new service, which would add to the pleasures and luxuries of life itself, enabling the full enjoyment of all the gifts of the human senses, and encouraging thereby the development of a higher moral discernment.

But this can only be made effective and intelligent by encouraging and enabling the "industry of the whole," as on the maintenance of this condition depends the securement of an honest reciprocal exchange value as to the different human commodities.

Industry is not restrictive as to its application; but can as well be applied to the encouragement or development of the luxuries and pleasures of life as to the necessities; more particularly after the necessities had been fully provided for. Placing all displaced but willing industry at industries, that would increase the delights and pleasures of life, would not only encourage the betterment of all the human conditions, but would adjust and maintain the adjustment of the equilibrium as to the needs of the human service, constantly disturbed and displaced by the great and continuous progress made in the development and productions of the arts and sciences.

Employ or industry cannot be increased or bettered by changing the title to the ownership of any of the industries, or by placing an excess of industry at service, at an industry that is already enabled a full service to all its requirements; or at a production which is already in excess of all legitimate demands for consumption of the human requirements, or of the reciprocal exchange value power of those in need of the productions. To illustrate:

Place the total of the community at seventy million inhabitants, averaging a daily earning of one dollar to each inhabitant, or a total of daily earnings of seventy

million dollars. All are at industry and all are enabled a reciprocal exchange value as to their different productions.

If one million people would be the complement necessary to an efficient service, as to the whole transportation industry, and the actual reciprocal exchange value as to services rendered averaged one dollar each daily; employing an additional million at the same service, so as to make employment or industry for that number thrown out of employ, by and through the progress made in the arts and sciences in other industries, would in nowise enrich or better the conditions of the community to the extent of the extra million dollars, paid daily to the additional employed million, but would impoverish the total of the community to that extent; as the reciprocal exchange value of those employed in the transportation industry, as against the exchange value of that of the production of the other industries, would thereby be reduced the one million dollars, or one-seventieth of the entire daily earnings; and the wealth, possessions or things could not in anywise be thereby increased.

Yet the industry of the whole is the only measure whereby a reciprocal exchange value, as between the different industries, can be justly maintained, as to their different productions or uses; and the harshness, sufferings, immoralities and injustices so adjusted as to secure a happy and a permanent relief. If the one million unemployed were placed

at an industry such as building stone docks as piers to all the harbors in the country, or at any new labor which in nowise interfered with or disturbed existing industries, but encouraged all of the individual industries by maintaining reciprocal exchange value to all of the productions, the wealth, possessions and prosperity of the whole would be increased to the full extent of the new employment; as the result of the employment, or the labor expended, would remain, and be an additional wealth, possession or thing for the people's needs, uses, desires or luxuries.

In both of the just cited conditions, to allow and pay for the new service of the one million idle people again put at labor, the one million dollar daily requirement would have to be exacted out of the industry of all; but in the first cited case it would not in anywise increase the total wealth, or maintain a just reciprocal exchange value, as between the different commodities or productions; while in the last cited case it would more than increase in its returns and results the cost of the expenditure in the maintenance of the actual industry of the whole; in the securement of a full reciprocal exchange value to all of the commodities or productions; in the retention in and by the same community of the daily one million dollar expenditure (which would exist and remain in either case, as the money expenditure in nowise becomes disturbed, lessened or lost); and by the added wealth, possessions or things that was acquired

by the labor expended in the accomplishment of the new industry.

It does not admit of doubt or disputation that neither governmental nor individual change or control as to any of the existing industries, would in any wise increase the necessity or intelligence as to greater employ or industry, better the conditions of the people, or alleviate the depressions existing in many of the industries; but in the governmental creation of new undertakings, of purposes which would be of use, benefit and pleasure to the collective people, the betterment, security, enrichment and contentment of all the people would be fully and efficiently attained.

To illustrate the correctness of this conclusion: Any and all transactions as between the different members of this community which exceeded the ability as to the daily average earnings of the total of the community of seventy million dollars, can best be expressed as gambling, or the transferring or changing of the title to existing or accumulated possessions, which transfers can in nowise increase the total wealth or prosperity, or encourage the necessary interchanges of the community.

Gambling can best be illustrated as an advantage, or the advantage taken by those possessing an anterior, a superior or secret knowledge as to existing or to be developed conditions, whereby those more cunning, unscrupulous, or of a baser moral discernment in their dealings and transactions with their fellow humans, acquire the title or ownership

as to the possessions of others, irrespective as to the reciprocal exchange value in the transfer.

And these unjust advantages are constantly heralded forth to the admiring of the world as an evidence of superior ability, not, as should be justly expressed, superior rascality or venality; also as evidencing the conclusion that the human conditions were normal, just and prosperous; and that the ability to prosperity and success lie entirely in the earnestness, desire, ability and determination of the individual, and not in the conditions by which they were environed.

To illustrate the immorality and injustice of this conclusion: Possessions can in nowise increase in quantity or real value by change of title or ownership. All possessions are simply things; and their value lies only in the fact as to the relation that they bear as to any of the uses, needs, desires or luxuries, of the human race, to the purposes of which they have, or owe their existence; all value beyond this value of fact is reputive, not real.

Real or fact value, as to any of the commodities or luxuries of life, lies as to the relative cost of production, both as to time, skill and risks to be assumed to enable production, that one thing bears as to another thing.

Reputive value is the value that is made to appear as the exchange value that any commodity or thing bears as to another commodity or thing; and is largely created and governed in addition to the real

or fact value, as just cited, by the relative demand that any commodity bears as to any other commodity, as compared to the relative or visible supply of that commodity.

This reputive value is, however, as often false as true, as it can be made subject to the manipulations, schemes and deceptions of man, and belongs not to the insolvable laws of nature, to which the real or fact value is alone subject to.

If one of a community exchanges with another of the same community, a lean and diseased cow for a fat and healthy cow, or an acre of barren and stony soil, for one of rich and fertile production, it in no-wise increases the wealth or prosperity of the community; it simply indicates that the one has taken advantage of the other's lack of ability or knowledge, and wronged him in the transaction.

If a house with its appurtenances, possessing a real or a fact value of one thousand dollars, is sold to one unskilled or ignorant as to value, for the sum of two thousand dollars, it does not follow that the wealth of the community has been increased one thousand dollars, but that the dishonesty, or lack of moral discernment in the one had despoiled the other of the one thousand dollars, or of all the time, risk, skill or labor that this one thousand dollars would truthfully represent.

The total wealth of the community would not be enriched a single iota; for the house with its appurtenances, as well as the two thousand dollars, had

only the same existence and value after as before the sale.

Wealth, and thereby prosperity and real or fact value, only becomes increased by additional or new labor; while millions or billions of transfers of wealth in nowise adds a single additional grain of wealth to the total, but is pure and simple gambling.

Direct employ or service under the government, in the accomplishment of any new enterprises, would not always ensure a true and faithful service; and this would require to be carefully guarded against, as the government officials would not be directly concerned as to the truthfulness of the service to be rendered by the employees; and a great danger would always lie, that as a consequence from this cause and the desire to retain political supremacy, dishonesty of service would be submitted to, if not encouraged; this condition would be fully destructive as to a reciprocal exchange value as to services rendered, which value will always be the base as to a truthful and permanent prosperity.

To avoid the dangers from such a cause as this, all new government service, employ or industry, should always be sublet under contract to those in the individual industries, who should compete for the same, subject only to the government supervision as to a truthful fulfillment of contract; and this would ensure an honest reciprocal exchange value as to service, as well as the industry of the whole, thereby encouraging a permanent and lasting prosperity.

Let the forces that control the governmental purposes be governed by natural ethics, not subversive, unnatural, ancient and immoral ethics, then all the commercial industries will always remain as the individual industries; the individual ambitions and emulations retain their just and natural status; the betterment of the human conditions be fully secured with nature and the natural beneficiencies enjoyed by all.

XIX.

AN EXPOSITION.

The Malthusian theory, so largely accepted by so-called political economists of the eighteenth century, that population grew faster than production, or of the growth of the necessities to enable human life, which thereby evidenced the necessity, the justice, and the intent of nature itself, to encourage wars, pestilences and famines, whereby humankind should become so decimated as to maintain a necessary provision and care for remaining humanity, still holds force and advocacy among many, who thereby maintain that the hardships that their less fortunate fellow mortals suffer under, whereby they are denied even the necessaries of life, were natural causes, and admitted of no human adjustment which did not determine either a required destruction of existing humankind, or a necessary prevention as to the propagation or development of an as yet unborn humanity.

The ultra wickedness of such a proposition in itself can only be justly or truly equaled by the selfishness, inhumanity, immorality, ignorance, brutality, and lack of intelligent thoughtfulness displayed in or by its advocacy; and the philosophy that can lead to so absurd and puerile a reasoning can only be likened

to, and would belong to, and be on a line with, the intelligence of that reasoning that was displayed by the theological students of the ecclesiastical academy of Moscow, who, but about a century ago, seriously discussed the propositions as to whether the angels think by analysis or by synthesis; and what is the nature of the light of glory in the future life.

Human intelligence can only grow and display, with the growth and the development of nature itself. Where conditions were such as to appear to preclude a possibility of relief or care from the cause, or the forces of the natural conditions, it were human to adjudge that this was in consonance with the natural purposes; but this conclusion should not be, or cannot be, hurriedly determined, but should be cautiously, slowly and exhaustively examined into with a sincerity and unselfishness of purpose and a fullness of the human knowledge to realize a truthful and an intelligent reasoning.

The Malthusian theory or conclusion was always unnatural and illogical, and could only be justified by deductions derived from local effects. Nature is universal, and must be viewed in its universality, and not in any of its abridgments. Famines, pestilences, or the destructions of wars, are always local, never universal; were they otherwise they could determine the annihilation of the human race. The human race is universal not local, and in accordance with the natural purposes is constantly and steadily developing and increasing in the face of

the decimations caused by local wars, diseases, pestilences and famines.

Primitive man was slow to realize the providence of nature. His own nature was barbarous, his intellect or reasoning powers undeveloped; his instinct, animal or brutal in its action. When the hardships of his immediate surroundings were such as to deny him his animal or his physical existence, and tempt him to war or migration to seek for a further sustenance to life, he did not hesitate to destroy any of his fellow-beings that he considered a hindrance, or obstructive to the completion of his purposes. And this human destruction always included the physically weak, the old or the young, the sick or the crippled. This was also on a line with the barbarisms displayed by earlier man, whereby might superseded all right.

It was not, however, nature which was deficient in its provisions, but undeveloped, uncultivated and inexperienced man. His knowledge of the natural attributes did not extend to the fact that industry and attention, and an awaiting for the fruits of that industry, would always ensure a full sustenance; for later man learned that even the scratching of the soil with the nails of men's fingers, or with the twigs of the branches of the tree, and the putting of the seed therein, would always produce more than man could consume. But habitation was not fixed to primitive man, therefore when the natural, or the wild growth of his immediate surroundings was defi-

cient, or the hunt or the fishing failed of his purposes, wars, human destruction and migration appeared to him as his only resource.

The fact that by migration into new land he again secured his requirements, demonstrates that nature was not deficient; but was in all ages providential. But mankind either lacked the knowledge, the intellect, or the ability to secure the natural bounty; for were all mankind put to the tilling of the soil for their means of sustenance, even if the crudeness of their methods did not extend beyond the scratching of the soil with the nails of their fingers, the total of production would be far in excess of the possibilities of necessary consumption, and an immense waste would be the result; allowing for all losses occasioned by drouths or floods, the precursors of famines or pestilences, and which are even now constantly common to the natural purposes.

The greater the human race the greater the human knowledge, as to the purposes and provisions of nature itself. Primitive man was few and was forced to the wilds of nature for shelter, for protection, for sustenance. He steadily avoided the openings and the clearings in nature, until an inability as to sustenance to life caused migration; and growing strength and a more certain sustenance encouraged him in time to the advantages that the clearings of nature offered, whereby fixed habitation became an acquirement and finally a necessity.

It was natural to self-preservation to primitive

man, when migration was the only known resource left to secure sustenance; where roads were unknown and the dangers in and to migration great and constant, to destroy all which would be a greater hindrance and danger; and such a destruction might possibly have been a humanity and a charity, and in full accord with the natural purposes.

But the human race of to day is not on a line with the primitive human race, but the greater human race. When primitive or undeveloped man was forced to migration, the purposes of nature began to express itself; it brought kind to kind; enabled and encouraged a blending of the seed, producing in result a higher and a better development. It was with the human as with the animal or the vegetable creation, the blending of the kinds belonging to the different temperatures or the different temperaments always produced a softer and a higher result, a tendency to a more perfect whole.

Primitive man before migration, before the blending of the seed, remained stupid and barbarous; for the joining of the same life of the same seed tends toward deterioration, not encouragement. In the human it often leads toward an idiocy or a lunacy—which is stupidity itself, and borders on barbarism. The more thorough or extended the blending of the seed the more perfect the offshoot, and this evidences the universality of nature; for all nature is one, insolvable, indivisible.

In the vegetable creation the seed in itself will

never encourage the growth or the richness of the production, that the blending of the different seeds of the same kind or degree, or of the seed with the fertilizer, which is the new blood, will develop.

The growth and development of man carried with it the growth of intellect, of reasoning powers, of utilizing all nature in its universality. To reach all nature, and encourage the use of all its bounties, the world itself was opened up to constant, continuous and ready intercourse, as to all humankind, to the blending of all the different seeds. And this condition must finally encourage the human race to its perfection or completion to its universality.

"Believe in thy kind, whate'er the degree,
Be it king on his throne, or serf on his knee.
While great nature showers good, from its bounty free,
Over storm, over calm, over land, over sea."

And the higher the degree, and the better the kind, is purely the result of the blending of the different seed, which built up and encouraged the growth of both mind and matter, developing the physical as well as the intellectual man; it stimulated the growth of those accidents of nature which constantly present to the human mind new springs, or hitherto secrets in nature itself, in which were found what man has termed the arts and the sciences, which are but other synonyms for the expression as to the development and utilization of nature's bounty.

This is the conclusion and the teaching of all

human history. It may be perplexing to the thoughtful mind why so much harshness had to be imposed on the human race in order to be enabled to reach this higher and juster plane. But man need not question the purposes of nature; these must always remain as hitherto, insolvable, inscrutable. All the good that exists in nature always existed, but in its many diversities of divisions, of degree, of kind; the opening up or the blending of the seed, magnified, purified, enlarged and developed its final purposes.

The arts and the sciences—the great developer and furtherer of the natural purposes is but a consequence of the blending of the seed—displaying the measures whereby all nature was opened to humankind's purposes and its universality freely exposed. It brought the human race into close, constant and intimate intercourse and communication, and disturbed every vestige of the dangers that formerly encroached upon and environed the human's necessities, whereby pestilences and famines, and consequent wars, to recover a means of sustenance were so common to earlier man.

Pestilences, famines and their dire consequences, are of and belong to the past; they can no more endanger the life of so-called civilization. Drouths or floods—the inception to famines and pestilences, and the consequences from which, so firmly intrenched the Malthusian theory in the minds of even thinking men—are just as common to the human race of to-

day as they were centuries ago; but they are only parts of a universal nature; while the arts and the sciences have made the universality of nature, and the advantages accrued therefrom, common to all so-called civilization.

Drouths or floods are but the results of the variations of the elements of nature; and the losses to the natural purposes resulting therefrom to the affected sections, can doubtless be fully accounted for in the added increase in the unaffected sections. Famines and pestilences have become an almost impossibility, for a more than a necessary sufficiency is constant to total nature; and the arts and the sciences always enable a ready and a quick enough relief to the temporary affected.

The developments of the arts and sciences have almost eliminated the dangers and consequences to all so called civilization, that was so common to the earlier human races, as the results from drouths, frosts or floods. Irrigation and drainage have almost totally overcome all probable deficiencies in those sections of the earth where nature or causes of nature encourages the development of all such atmospheric excesses or harshnesses.

Wars, causes that create wars, destructions from wars, and the consequent destruction to human life, are also fast passing out of the life of steadily advancing civilization. Wars belong to the era of the past, before and while the humankind was passing from the barbarous to the intellectual existence; when all

claim to superiority lay in the animal man, and brute force—might not right—was the ethic which controlled the ruling powers.

All the harsh elements which earth and its human growth submitted to, are steadily giving way to, and being softened by the influences arising from, and of the growing development and opening up of the arts and sciences, and when the human race accepts of, and abides by the ethics that the advanced knowledge and conditions encourage and enable, a nobler human race will determine, which will view more in sorrow than in anger, the harshness of all the human sufferings which environed and controlled the races from which they sprang.

The storm and the calm, the drought and the flood, the land and the sea, always were and always will be, in and of the universe. All are of the natural exposition, universal, indivisible. They may become blended and softened in the course of the natural purposes, but never lose any of their parts or properties. What is of nature, always was of nature, will always remain of nature.

The natural exposition in the development of the arts and sciences, in the sincerity, ability and creation of the productions beyond the possibility of the wants of consumption, to enable the total of the human sustenance, has exposed and subverted the puerility of the reasoning, that nature was not equal to the requirements of its own creation. It is but the stupidity, the ignorance, the brutality of the

human reasoning, of the human system of government, that prevents or stays the fulfillment of its evident purposes.

If the human laws were based upon the exposed laws of nature, guided and controlled by the evident natural purposes, which would enable a necessary diffusion of the natural bounties; the seeming results from the storm and the calm, the drought, the frosts or the flood, would in nowise disturb the human requirement; and the ignorance, brutality, and wickedness which impugns the justice and morality of nature itself, (exposing in its advocacy the selfishness of its motives, as well as the injustice of the ethics governing so-called civilization), through the falsities and the baseness of the teachings of the Malthusian theory and conclusions, would soon crumble, through the weakness of its own absurdities.

XX.

ETHIC OF INDUSTRIAL TRUSTS OR SYNDICATES.

Combinations which are known as trusts or syndicates are in direct contradiction to the natural requirements.

They should not be confounded as of equal right or justice with combinations of men in the industries, known as labor unions, for the union of labor is subservient to the natural requirements, demanding industry and a reciprocal exchange value for their services, which would encourage the industry of the whole.

The combination of trusts has the reversive object in view—to curtail and require the least amount of industry, that would realize to their selfishness or greed the largest pecuniary gains or possessions.

Any combination which has for its special object the control, curtailment or dictation as to the production of the natural bounties, or as to the exchange value, which they can demand for the same, through the power of combination, is immoral and wicked in design and thought.

The combinations of labor unions, in the fact that they encourage the industry of the whole, is just and wise.

The combination of industrial trusts, in the fact that their efforts are directed to the curtailment of industry or to control values by fictitious manipulation; in that it takes man away from his industry and means of sustenance, that it restricts or interferes with the natural abilities, are pernicious and criminal.

Any effort to confound these two industrial combinations as of equal justice and merit, will fail through the reasonings of true philosophy.

Industrial trusts are the most meretricious of all selfish man's folly and wrongs; they are the natural sprouts from the roots of our false and immoral system of ethics.

The great progress in all the arts make industrial trusts prolific and common to individual man.

Through these constant improvements an immense and rapid production of all the uses and needs of man becomes possible and certain, although at the loss of human industry.

This makes the individual competition to first dispose of the productions so harsh as largely to destroy the profit or exchange value to the individual.

The loss to the industry, a consequence of these improvements, by lessening the ability to consumption, still further intensifies the competition as to disposition.

When any of the separate industries, through this struggle to secure all for themselves, reaches that point or condition when all revenue or profit is lost, but competition still remains as harsh as ever, the different interests in the same industry com-

bine to stay these conditions and improve their revenues. This is the inception to the immorality.

If instead of each interest struggling for all, each interest would restrict itself to only an equal proportion of the production of the supply as to the demand—thereby retaining the full reciprocal exchange value—there would be no occasion or necessity for wicked combinations which, through the destruction of industry, leads to the destruction of man.

Man's intense selfishness does not, however, allow even the instincts of common humanity to enter into his calculations.

When these combinations are effected and the trusts organized, there is no limit to the wickedness of their designs, nor to the execution of the same.

They command and control, to the full extent of their special industry, the absolute production of the supply as to demand; they dictate their own prices as to the value of the exchanges required, as there is no ability as to the supply, except through their consent.

The autocracy of industrial trusts are so absolute that the employ or discharge of their employees is subject only to the dictates of their own selfishness.

When men assume such autocracy there is no limit to their extremity.

Under a system of moral or natural ethics, trusts or syndicates, with all their consequent injustices and immoralities, would lose their power and purpose.

A system of natural ethics, by enabling the industry of the whole, would make industrial trusts or syndicates improbable, if not impossble of execution.

XXI.

ETHIC OF DUTIES AS CUSTOMS, PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE.

Any sum of money required by government to be paid on the importation, exportation or consumption of goods.

Truth and error are as essentially opposite in their nature, as the causes to which they are indebted for their perpetuity and triumph are not the less so.

Whatever retards a spirit of inquiry is favorable to error; whatever promotes it, to truth. But nothing, it will be acknowledged, has a greater tendency to obstruct the exercise of free inquiry than the spirit and feeling of a party.

Let a doctrine, however erroneous, become a party distinction, and it is at once entrenched in interests and attachments, which makes it extremely difficult for the most powerful artillery of reason to dislodge it.

It becomes a point of honor in the leaders of such parties, which is from thence communicated to their followers, to defend and support their respective peculiarities to the last; and as a natural consequence, to shut their ears against all the pleas and remonstrances by which they are assailed.

Even the best and wisest of men are seldom aware how much they are susceptible of this sort of influence, and while the offer of a world would be insufficient to engage them to recant a known truth, or to subscribe to an acknowledged error, they are often retained in a willing captivity to prejudices and opinions which have no other support, and which, if they could lose sight of party opinions, they would almost instantly abandon.

To exemplify and justify the reasoning and conclusions just expressed, taking as the basis of the argument the justice of the ethics of duties as a customs measure, the facts connected with the same must be submitted to a calm and philosophic inquiry, freed of all bias interests, prejudice and predilections.

The duties, requirements and necessities of government cannot be maintained otherwise than by a system of taxation from which a sufficient revenue can be secured to effect its full purpose; it is not, therefore, to taxation itself that any intelligent or worthy opposition should be centered, but only as to the equity of the system; therefore the ethic of the tax always demands the most earnest of thought.

Prior to the present century there was a serious obstacle to any equitable system of taxation, in the fact that the general education was not sufficiently advanced; in the further fact that the wealthy classes, the nobility and the clergy—the privileged classes, as they were termed, were exempted from all the burdens of taxation.

From the general nature of the then existing governments, which were aristocratic and exclusive, nothing different was to be looked for; as human nature has in all ages developed the same propensities; using their power and authority to further their own benefits and acquirements, avoiding all encroachments on their so-called rights, and placing the burden of life's trials on those least able to submit to its hardships.

The first approach to the modern system of taxation, in fact the first approach to what might be expressed as the present or commercial system, was made during the middle ages by the republic of Venice, which levied taxes on the lands of the republic, and also in the form of duties on manufactures and imports; these duties, which brought in a large revenue, were imposed on the necessaries, as well as the luxuries of life.

Individual man is so impressed, controlled and governed, in the actions of his life, by the example of others, that he seldom stops to consider as to the equity and justice of his doings, as much as to the success of the result sought for.

A republic which existed in what civilized nations now express as the dark or middle ages, whose main strength and wealth lay in its then immense naval resources, through which it controlled a large commerce of the world—a comparatively small republic, neither adapted or fitted by nature for large agricultural or industrial purposes—in an age in which even

the knowledge of natural production was very crude, adopts a system of taxation to enable its revenue; which even to this age, through the force of custom and example, and the selfishness of the ruling powers, still holds largely in force; in spite of the immense progress made in all the arts and sciences and the different actual requirements of the people governed.

A physician who would prescribe, for the cure of his patients, the potions and treatment current in the middle ages, would be condemned as a quack or incompetent. Yet physicians lived and practiced in those ages, and men and women both lived and died.

A mechanician who would exercise his trade or skill to-day on a line with the inaccuracies and teachings that were the acceptations of the middle ages, would soon learn of the errors of his system.

Yet to an age when the failures of the crops was religiously attributed to divine punishments, for sins of omission or commission, not to the fact that the science governing production was as yet almost unknown; to an age when the knowledge of the arts and the sciences were an almost hidden mystery, we are indebted to the origin of the system of duties as a customs measure or source of revenue.

Taxes are either direct or indirect; the former are those which are levied directly on the property, business or incomes, of those who are to pay them; the latter are levied on commodities in the hands of manufacturers and dealers, and are paid ultimately by consumers as a part of the price of the commodity.

Presumptively the former or the direct taxes are paid by the persons taxed; while as to the latter, or the indirect tax, the person who makes the payment to the government only advances to it the taxes, expecting to reimburse the amount advanced out of their sales, and thus transfer the tax to the purchasers.

Though direct taxes fall presumptively upon the persons taxed, the bulk of the burden is usually transferred to others, but it is diffused through the community in a manner that renders it difficult to indicate the extent. To exemplify:

It scarcely admits of question that the indirect tax, namely, that levied on the commodities in the hands of the manufacturers or dealers, is ultimately paid by the consumer, in his purchase of the commodity; though the onus of the direct tax cannot be so readily defined, it is undoubtedly true that taxes paid on land, business, etc., is also alternately paid by the consumers in the added cost, charged in the exchange or disposition to all the things, possessions or commodities so taxed.

It may be true that cases may and do arise where the manufacturer or dealer, in consequence of unforeseen conditions of the market, after the advanced payment of the indirect taxes, may be forced to the disposal of his commodities, at a price less than the actual cost of the manufacture, or the cost of purchase to the dealer. This clearly evidences the immorality of such a tax, by which the greater part

of the burden of taxation can be imposed on the few, to the exclusion of the many.

Such a condition must, however, be the exception, and not the rule; for were it the rule, it would determine the ruin of all manufacture and dealing. So the fact still remains and is indisputable, that the tax is ultimately paid by the consumer as part of the price of the commodity.

This exposes a further immorality and inequity on the part of the government in encouraging a tax on any of the commodities; from the fact that the tax on any of these commodities would only be paid by that portion of the community which purchased and consumed such commodities so taxed, excluding all others.

In other words, all would receive the maximum of the government protection, but only part would pay the burden of the government maintenance.

Immorality or inequity is beyond all question the most serious of all wrongs or doings that can be charged to a governmental action. A government cannot be charged with the commission of a personal immorality; but the lesson or deduction that is reached from a governmental immoral or inequitable act or precept applies with equal force.

A moral people cannot result from immoral rulers, and if mankind does not first effect a moral system of government, it need not complain as to an immoral community; an inequitable act of government is an immoral act, though it may only apply as to the

imposition or collection of a tax as a revenue. That act which may compel one to pay the burden of two, exempting the one, is an inequitable act, therefore an immoral act.

Public morality, on the contrary, will be the natural complement of the laws, if the laws themselves are moral; it belongs especially to the dominion of reason and information, of which it is the natural consequence, and reason and information cannot retrograde.

Duties as customs have been favorite taxes with legislators, because the people appear to submit to them more willingly than to either the direct or indirect internal taxes.

They are greatly to be deplored, because of the temptation that they offer for discriminating legislation in benefit of particular individuals, or occupations, or to build up monopolies. Protective taxation is usually laid in this form.

Here we discover further and greater immoralities as the ethic of duties as a customs measure.

A people's quiescence and submission to a tax which may be based on an immorality, or an inequity, does not diminish or lessen the immorality on the part of the government, because the consumer unknowingly or even consentedly pays the tax in his purchase of the commodity. A stolen article does not become a valid purchase because the buyer was innocent as to the theft.

The laying on of special taxes on special produc-

tions, in order to encourage and increase the wealth of favored individuals or localities, does not increase or grow the morality of the act, it only enhances the immorality.

The immorality of the acts which tend to special benefits and advantages, does not encourage the morality of the legislator; rather his venality is greatly increased by his intimate knowledge of the moneyed value of the special benefits that are to be derived from such special legislation. Special legislation is in its nature corrupt and immoral, as it plainly indicates the unjust granting of special benefits or privileges, not the adjustment or maintaining of a reciprocal exchange as between the affairs of man.

Protective taxation as to import is always special legislation, not protection. To make such taxation determine as an absolute protection, the amount of the tax would have to be so excessive as to virtually imply prohibition. In such a case it would produce no revenue, and therefore be of no object to the treasury. If a tax, and thereby enabled importation and consequent revenue, it would simply increase the wealth and opportunities of foreign manufacturers and possibly some of those of the home manufacturers, who were brought into competition with the importations thus specially taxed.

An export tax or duty is seldom laid, because it invites retaliatory legislation from those countries which might be compelled to the purchase of the commodities so taxed.

People as represented by nations do not purchase the commodities of other nations or countries, except where their necessities or advantages encourage them to such purchases. An export tax, however, would not encourage venal or special legislation, and is therefore not as immoral a tax in its conception as an import tax.

Adam Smith and Amasa Walker, both widely accepted authorities on political economy, contended that the heaviest taxes should be imposed on commodities, the consumption of which would be especially prejudical to the interests of the people.

It is difficult in this age of progressive science and general education to concede the justice of this reasoning. Taxation can be of no purpose or effect except as to the revenue that is derived from the same.

To encourage the consumption of any production that would be especially prejudicial to the interests of the people governed; for the sake of the revenue that would be derived from the same; to encourage vice and immorality at a market price; to destroy the virtue and happiness of a people for no greater object than pay; bespeaks a very low moral standard, and is greatly to the discredit of any of its advocates, no matter how noted they are, or may have been.

It does not belong to the province or purpose of any system of government to encourage vice, but always to inculcate virtue. If the percentage of the tax itself was so extreme as to prevent consumption

of the product taxed, it would not be a tax as to encouraging revenue; if on the contrary it produced a large revenue, it would be especially prejudicial to the interest, the welfare and the morality of the people so taxed. This cannot admit of justification.

The ethic of that age which absolved all crime, sin or immorality, at an established market value, should not be placed on a line with the ethic that should govern an almost twentieth century.

It has already been said that until recently, and even to this day, in most so-called civilized countries, those classes who enjoyed the largest revenues, and presumptively were most able to contribute to the support of the government, were exempted altogether. This conclusively determines the inequity and immorality of the ethic governing such countries.

Duties should never be an object to the treasury. They can never be justified, but on the ground that they are essential as a guarantee and a protection to the nation; and this protection would be best effected by an absolute prohibition.

Duties, either import or export, which did not imply a prohibition, but simply a revenue, are both immoral in their conception and immoral in their execution—immoral in their conception when applied to import duties, as implying special benefits, as well as venal legislation—immoral in their execution, as they compel some to pay the burdens of all. It might be questioned as to how this statement as to immorality could be maintained as to export duty. In the

fact that the condition of the buyer's market might be such as to compel the seller to dispose of his commodities at a loss. Still he would be compelled to the payment of the tax.

The ethic of duties as a customs measure originated and belonged to an age and a people so foreign and difficult of comparison, as to this country and people, and this age of the progressive sciences, as not to admit of any intelligent analogy.

The only analogy which it still retains is its inequity and immorality. Who would look to the ethics of the dark or middle ages for the enactments of any but selfish and inequitable legislation?

Will the converse proposition realize a juster and a truer conclusion in result, as to the justice of the ethic of an absolute free trade or commercial intercourse between the different people of the different nations of the world?

It can here be assumed that in a condition of an accepted free commercial intercourse, as between the different people of the different nations, no restrictions could ever be effective, as to the exclusion of any of the productions of any of the nations of the world, with whom this nation might be at variance or war; for the avarice or selfishness of individual man would readily discover a means whereby these productions would secure full entry through the medium of the people of some of the other nations, with whom this nation at the time would be in peaceful or friendly relations.

This converse proposition as to the justice of an absolute free external commercial intercourse, as between the different people of the world, is most tenaciously and stubbornly maintained, but like all partially accepted ethics, is more largely the result of sentiment or tradition, of a selfish motive or a political education, than of a calm and philosophic inquiry as to its equity and bearings.

As to an internal free commercial intercourse between the different people of the different sections of one and the same nation, of one and the same government, no question need arise as to its equity; for being governed by the same institutions and the same laws; and all being part of the same whole, their internal regulations can be so adjusted and maintained as to secure the industry and the prosperity of all.

As to an external free commercial intercourse between certain of the people of this nation, with any of the different people of any of the different nations of the world, the proposition assumes a much more serious and vital phase; and the justice, the equity, or the intelligence of the proposition itself, cannot determine so ready an acceptation as is so obstinately and assuredly expressed by its advocates.

It is maintained with great fervor that man's liberty of action or doing must not be interfered with in any of the individual purposes or aims of life; that his right as to his own disposition of all of his own affairs or acts is a natural and inherent one; and

that any interference as to the full indulgence of this right would determine as a tyranny, as an unjust oppression and a natural crime.

That this proposition is not a truthful one is evidenced by the consent given by the minority (though that minority may be an almost majority) to the laws and control of the majority; though such laws, and the conditions imposed through such laws, may be directly opposite and contrary to the views, interests and conclusions of the minority.

Besides, such as enter into society must in some degree diminish their liberty. Reason leads them to this.

There is nothing absurd in saying that man cannot continue in the perpetual and entire fruition of the liberty that creation had given him; and to the exercise of which he would be enabled, were the aforementioned proposition a truthful one.

The liberty of one is threatened by that of another, and while they are all equal none will yield to any, except by a general consent.

Were not the majority rule an acceded and consented justice, society would lose its force and purpose; and would readily determine its own disruption, and its early return to either a despotism or an anarchy.

This conclusion fully determines the natural justice of those acts which tend toward the accomplishment of a general good, even though they do encroach on what might be considered by some parts of the

community as an infringement of their natural rights.

It fully determines the falsity of the proposition, that man's liberty of action or doing must not be interfered with in any of the individual purposes or aims of life; that his right as to his own disposition of all his own affairs or acts is a natural and inherent one; and that any interference as to the full indulgence of this right, which would of necessity include his right to a full and a free commercial intercourse, either external or internal, would determine as a tyranny, as an unjust oppression, and a natural crime.

It cannot admit of dispute that where the production of the people of foreign nations can be brought into the markets of this country and disposed of at a profit in competition with the equal productions of this country (and it would not submit to being imported into the markets of this country, except at a profit), that it evidenced a superiority as to the cost of the foreign manufacture; and if allowed under such conditions, a free entry into our markets would finally determine in the complete ruin of the home manufacture.

It is claimed that this fact of itself would not of necessity disturb the home manufacture or prosperity; but on the contrary would increase the total of the home wealth.

That as wealth consisted not only of gold and silver, but of all those things which were necessary or conducive to the uses, needs, desires or luxuries of humankind.

That the total wealth of the nation would be increased, to the extent of the saving, as between the cost at which the foreign production could be secured, as against what would be the cost of the equal production of the home manufacture, while the labor displaced by the introduction and use of these foreign productions could be placed to a more profitable home employment.

These are general statements, and were the conditions of ever growing and progressive civilization and education such as to enable a completion and fulfillment of life's purposes in conformity with these general statements, would not admit of intelligent disputation.

It were wisdom in humankind always to submit the affairs connected with life's purposes to general propositions, and not to specific or local propositions, which the narrowness and selfishness of individual man constantly submit; as specific and local propositions are subject to constant changes, and cannot determine as general propositions can, the welfare or prosperity of the whole community.

The great progress constantly being made in all the arts and sciences will not enable the fulfillment or practical realization of specific or local propositions. In all the departments and divisions of the different individual industries, the progress made in all the different mechanisms of production, enables, if desired or required, an increased production, and a decreased employment; and no new fields of

employ for the displaced labor seem to be possible.

The fly wheel on the engine of the individual industries is moving toward an almost dead center. A more vital force than the ordinary individual effort will be necessary to again secure its natural movement, motion and power.

Under such, the actual condition, a free external commercial intercourse with foreign nations will develop an increased industrial home depression, a greater enforced human idleness, a greater human misery; it can in nowise increase, but must diminish the total wealth. To exemplify the truthfulness of this conclusion:

Wealth does not necessarily indicate prosperity. Prosperity can only lie where the wealth of a nation is intelligently diffused. Wealth concentrated in the hands of a comparative few indicates an autocracy or a monopoly, and must be finally destructive to the individual liberty. This must be vigilantly guarded against. Prosperity can never lie where the industry of the people is uncertain, and idleness on the steady increase.

Assume a community at a total population of one hundred beings. Their average earning ability when all are employed at one dollar each per diem, the number of working days to the year at three hundred, making a total earning ability of thirty thousand dollars.

Let it be assumed that they actually consume in

the needs and purposes of life, one-half of their total earnings; leaving a net surplus of wealth for future possibilities, needs or luxuries, of fifteen thousand dollars. This amount is represented in all those things which constitute the wealth of humankind.

This hypothesis is based upon the assumption that all of the population of one hundred were employed; and all receiving and giving actual reciprocal exchange value for their interchanges as between each other.

Let ten of this population be engaged in the art of piano making, of which they created, combined and completed all of the different parts. The total number of pianos necessary to the uses of this community, can be placed at twenty; which in order to maintain a reciprocal exchange value, as to the interchange of commodities between the different members of the community, should command a value of one hundred and fifty dollars for each piano, or a total of three thousand dollars.

The mind must not be allowed to become confused or perplexed in its reasoning as to the following truth: that the total productions of the remaining ninety of the population, or an equivalent total production or earning ability of twenty-seven thousand dollars, will be either maintained or decreased by the fact of either the employ or the idleness of the aforementioned ten of the community, employed in the industry of the piano making.

Let it be assumed that in consequence of the much

greater cheapness of the cost of the production of the raw materials requisite to the making of pianos, and the much cheaper wage of the workman employed in the art of piano making, in consequence of the harsher political, social and economic conditions of the people engaged in the industry; it might be enabled under a free external commercial intercourse to import from some foreign nation twenty, of as equally good pianos, to supply the whole needs of this community of one hundred, at a cost of seventy-five dollars each, or a total of fifteen hundred dollars, showing a clean saving to the wealth of the community on this one commodity of fifteen hundred dollars, equal to ten per cent. of the total surplus yearly earnings of the entire community.

As wealth is represented by things, and as the twenty equal pianos will be possessed by certain members of the community, will the total of the community be benefited or injured by the unconditional entry into this country of the twenty foreign pianos, at a saving to the purchasers of the fifteen hundred dollars?

The proposition here submitted controls and covers the equity, the justice and the intelligence from a commercial or selfish point of view (for all commercial propositions resolve themselves into selfish propositions) of the policy of a free external commercial intercourse between the people of the different nations. The validity of the total proposition is in nowise interfered with or prejudiced by the assump-

tion of the piano making interest as the criterion or object.

Were the proposition local as to its effects, and not general, it would not be worthy of great contention; but being a general proposition it assumes a very serious phase, and must be submitted to a cautious, a truthful, and an intelligent analysis and inquiry.

As has already been exemplified, the great progress constantly manifesting itself in the arts and sciences, governing all the individual industries, and which is steadily increasing the number of the unemployed, precludes the possibility of the employ by any other of the individual industries, of the industry that would be displaced by the free entry of the foreign production, and which would not be enabled a market, except as from causes heretofore expressed; namely, as to extra harshness of the conditions of the people, which allowed to the foreign production a superiority as to cost of manufacture or production.

This enforces the necessity of considering all such displaced labor as one of the factors in the consideration of the original proposition.

Reciprocity, or interchange of the productions of the different nations, as between the different nations, is a purely imaginary condition, never a real condition; yet it could only be by a real reciprocity, or interchange of their different productions by the nations themselves, that a uniform status or condition, as to the maintenance of an equal employ, could be secured.

Interchange of the productions of the different nations is always an individual and a commercial enterprise, and is only and solely undertaken for the benefit of the individuals engaged in the same. It is absolutely governed, controlled, and induced, by purely selfish or advantageous consideration.

This interchange is always sought for, not seeking, and diverts itself into other and fresher channels the moment its self advantage or its necessity induces or compels it to a change. It is never of a reliable or certain quantity, as the conditions which govern its continuance are subject to constant changes; and neither can it or will it be compelled to an actual reciprocal exchange.

This further enforces the necessity of considering as a factor in the consideration of the original proposition, of any displaced labor that these conditions create.

A free external commercial intercourse may realize an extra gain to a comparative few, but would be totally destructive to the general prosperity.

The proposition hereinbefore submitted, as to its effect on the piano industry, assuming the total population at one hundred, and the number employed in the home piano industry at ten, will determine the following in result:

Under a guaranteed home protection, or more properly stated, a prohibition which would deny the entry, use or consumption of any of the productions of foreign nations, where they in anywise disturbed

or interfered with the home employ; the total net surplus or wealth of the whole community of one hundred would be fifteen thousand dollars:

With the ten displaced from the piano industry and left in idleness through their inability to compete with the foreign productions, the total net surplus of the whole community, or the remaining ninety, were it possible to still maintain a reciprocal exchange value in their interchanges with each other, which is very doubtful, would be thirteen thousand five hundred dollars.

This would conclusively demonstrate, that to enable eighteen of the community of one hundred (for in this case one-tenth of the community would be disabled from consumption) to purchase from certain people of foreign nations (whose political, social and economic conditions were so harsh as to enable them to undersell, and thereby undermine the home industry) eighteen pianos at a saving to eighteen of the community of one hundred, of thirteen hundred and fifty dollars, the total surplus wealth of the whole community would be reduced from fifteen thousand dollars to thirteen thousand five hundred dollars, one-tenth of the community would be taken from industry and placed in idleness, and either allowed to their own destruction, or provided and cared for by the employed of the community; which, if they should be provided for, as they would be enabled to provide for themselves, were they retained in industry, would equal an additional fifteen hundred dollars.

And would compel, in addition, the complete burden of the government maintenance on the remaining employed. Or as a total in result of more than double the loss to the whole of the community, as to the actual gain to a few; and an enforced idleness of one-tenth.

A free external commercial intercourse can finally determine in the total destruction of the prosperity of the majority of the people.

Nations, as well as individuals, always were, and are governed by their exclusive selfishness. To look for the causes which influence their actions we must first look to the conditions, both external and internal, by which they would be actuated. In all cases we must first seek for the selfishness of the motive.

There is one thing, however, in which all have a common interest, irrespective of its effect on other nations; that is, to promote the common good of our own country—and this implies all the people of our country.

Why then not conspire in one and the same design, and turn our eyes on those things in which we have a common interest? Why should difference as to faith interrupt the duties of our civil life? Why the different roads we take to heaven prevent our taking the same steps on earth? Why be so tied to past political affiliations or prejudices as to fail to see the needs and necessities for an immediate and radical reformation?

We all inhabit the same ground, breathe the same

air, and live under the same government. We all agree about the usefulness of meat, drink and clothes, and no doubt sincerely wish our poor neighbors were better supplied with them.

Nature has certainly done its part. No nation on the face of the globe is better qualified to furnish all the necessaries of life. The people of no nation upon the face of this earth have it in their power to do good on easier terms, and with less pains or loss to themselves.

Of all intelligent methods of obtaining a great prosperity, the most advantageous would be for one and the same people to perform all of the operations relating to life.

With the diversity of geniuses, climates and soils that this nation enjoys, it should grow all its own raw materials, manufacture it within itself, and consume as near as possible all that it produced.

That which interfered with, or destroyed the employ or industry of its people, its entry into the country should be absolutely prohibited; aught which did not interfere or discourage our home industry or home production, its entry into the country should be free of all duty. All export should be free; duties should never be an object to the treasury; their enaction and exaction is inequitable, venal, and of necessity immoral as to result.

In vain the fertile earth! the diverse climate! if human labor be wanting. Nature supplies all of the material; art and industry only can improve

it to the use of man—but when this industry is wanting it occasions all the other wants.

To charge a nation with selfishness as to the motive would not be valid. All acts of all governments are of a selfish nature; but they are of that species of selfishness that can be justified by the natural laws, the laws of self advantage, self protection, or self preservation.

These are not wicked, immoral or unjust when applied to the nation as a whole. The mother will first nurse her own offspring, even though she has enough nourishment for two. Instinct, if not conscience, will justify this.

A uniform system of political economy, so called, as between nations, can never be effective or possible. Their political, climatic and geographical conditions, their different systems of government, the different conditions of the people governed, the state of the general education, their productions or want of productions, all their different interests, otherwise selfishness, would preclude such a uniformity.

A nation destitute of productions or manufacture, and which had a trade only of transit and commission, would not harmonize with the requirements of the people of a nation whose sole industries were its manufactures, or with a nation that was exclusively agricultural; as each one would seek for those results that would secure a betterment of the conditions of its own people; and this would be in conformity with the law of nature.

None of the people of the nations of the earth will refuse to buy of or sell to the people of another nation those productions which either their own necessities or natural advantages created. This conclusion disturbs the correctness of the plea for reciprocity as between nations. All that there is of or to reciprocity, as between the people of the different nations, resolves itself into selfishness, advantages or necessity.

Where any preferences appear to be shown, it will always demonstrate that it is a preference based upon an advantage, and subject to diversion at any moment that its own advantage calls for same.

Does not the immorality of the ethic which calls for duties as customs call for a change? Does not the necessities of the people, or the advantages that would accrue to the whole community, call for the entire abolition of duties as a scource of revenue?

Duties as customs should never be an object or an addition to the treasury; they could only be justified, if called for, as a guarantee or protection to the nation, and this protection would be best effected by absolute prohibition.

Where the importation of any of the productions of any of the different nations did not interfere with the welfare or the industry of the people, or an appreciable part of the people, but were a natural and a required want, they should be allowed entry into the country absolutely free from all duties.

Where the importation of any of the productions

of any of the different nations interfered with the welfare or the industries of the people, or an appreciable part of the people, and were not a natural or a required want, such productions should be prohibited entry into this country.

A free entry into this country of the productions of foreign countries, or an allowed entry subject to a revenue tax or duty on such productions, and which would yet enable importation, where such productions interfered with the welfare and industry of the people, would be an injustice and a wrong, and destructive of the peace and prosperity of the people.

A tax or duty of more or less on the importations into this country of the productions of foreign countries, where such productions were such as did not interfere with the industry of the people of this country, but were a required want, would be an injustice and an immorality.

An export tax is always an injustice and an immorality. Conditions might arise where the exportations of certain productions of the country might cause great distress and suffering to the wants of the collective people. In such a case the export should not be taxed, but simply prohibited.

The ethic as to duties for customs revenues is wicked and immoral; the time has arrived for its complete abandonment.

The sentiment, America for Americans, should grow with the ethics. All those whose feelings and sentiments are purely and wholly American, and who are

free from foreign affiliations or sympathies, no matter as to the accident of birth or nativity, should belong to and of America, where all should be of equal right and privilege.

No unnatural acts of restrictiveness should deny its privileges to all who claim or desire it.

Let America be the hunting ground of the whole world of oppressed ; all can be folded within its embrace ; its bosom is large, its nature bountiful, its climate varied, its genius abundant, its resources immeasurable.

Submit to natural ethics ; conform to the requirements and provisions that nature provided ; give all humankind industry, so all may live as a generous and beneficent nature provides.

CHAPTER XXII.

USURY.

During all time, ancient and modern, of which history relates, usury, or charging more than an established and legal rate of interest for the use or loan of money, has been held by both the civil and ecclesiastic law, doctrine and authorities, as immoral, inequitable, wicked and unjust, deserving the greatest of censure, and the most severe of penalty and punishment.

The justice of this conclusion never seemed to have been held in dispute; yet a cautious and searching inquiry into the correctness of the philosophy of the same fails to justify its equity or its truthfulness.

Sentiment and tradition, which had given age, credence, and thereby apparent respectability, to their teachings, becomes so interwoven into the life and acceptations of mankind that they seldom stop to question the correctness or the equities of the laws and the custom by which they are governed; conceding their justice and truthfulness to the fact that they had submitted to the trials and ordeals of preceding generations.

A judge, in forming his conclusions and submitting his decision as to the equity of a case pending

before him, will invariably refer to, and be governed by the laws, just or unjust, which are at the time in force; and justify his decision by numerous quotations, references, and prior decisions, irrespective as to the true equity as to the case in dispute. This may be on a line with policy, or with a requirement as to government itself, namely, the full enforcement of all laws as they are, so as to ensure security; but it is not on a line with justice.

Many wrongs are not to be atoned for by the doing of any one right, no matter how eventful its purpose; no more will the doing of many rights justify the commission or the retention of one single wrong.

This forces the conviction that we cannot possibly continue in perpetuity, the retention of old time customs and laws, because age, tradition, or education had given them character and consent, for no trait in the human is more difficult to eradicate, more tenacious of adherence to, than those acceptations which are the outcome of ancestral origin, of descent through tradition, or the written laws, or of early education.

Yet all these conditions cannot change either their truthfulness or their falsities. Were they truthful in their conception, neither time nor acceptation will make them more truthful; were they false in their origin, neither time, custom, creed, acceptation, nor aught that will go to express the human action, will make them less false.

Yet it is to truth and justice only that mankind should be guided in all their actions, for there is more strength in truth and justice than in all the traditions, creeds, customs, and forces of the combined world of man. They may be slow of enforcement, but cannot fail of final supremacy.

A law which entails *a priori* an adjustment as to any of the affairs of individual man, and which they may have left unprovided for, cannot possibly determine an individual injury; for it can be accepted that all men "know the law," and govern their acts accordingly. A law, therefore, which enacts, where no provision has been formally expressed, as between the individuals, that the rate of interest for the use or loan of money shall be at an established or prefixed rate, carries with it a justice or an equity.

A law which restricts the free acts of the individuals, as between each other, as to an accepted and agreed rate of interest for the use or loan of money in excess of a rate prefixed at law, and which is termed a usury law, is inequitable, unjust, arbitrary, and in direct contradiction to the liberty of the individual, and to his rights to property or possessions.

It is equally as unjust and unreasonable as the enactment of a law would be which would enjoin the individual from agreeing to or accepting, for the use or loan of money, of a lower rate of interest than that which the law had stipulated as legal, therefore presumptively just and equitable.

All so-called equity laws, the base of which is compulsion, not equity and justice, are subversive of the intent of law itself; the enforcement of such laws always affects the morality, truthfulness, and public spirit of the subject; they are constantly being evaded and avoided by many, and as such think, with right and justice; and the tendency of such laws being to encourage cunning, deception, and chicanery on the part of the subject.

Submit the logic of philosophy to the truthfulness of the aforesaid reasonings. Money is simply one of those things or commodities which collective man's wisdom concedes as the most efficient medium to ensure a safe exchange as between their wants. Whether it be gold, silver, or paper, either passes current when known, or supposed to represent a true equivalent. Money is so far, and only so far, useful to the public as it promoteth industry.

Wealth or capital can be most fully expressed by the term "things;" it does not consist only of gold or silver, or a paper representation of gold or silver, but in the posssession of all those things which go toward the necessaries, conveniences, and enjoyments of human life.

Government has no right or justice to determine itself into a commercial factor, or to directly or indirectly interfere between a free, unrestrained and consented relation between the individuals in their individual relations or industries.

Money is simply a commodity, the same as other

productions of the earth are commodities; it is, however, conceded and accepted as a base or unit to compute value from as to the other commodities.

The price or value of all commodities fall with the increase of the supply, and rises with the diminution; or it might be expressed, that the price of every article of commerce—and why not the price of money—is inversely in proportion to its supply.

And there is nothing in the interposition of money to affect the process. Its office is merely to facilitate the exchange of commodities. This intervention should not be allowed to perplex the mind out of the true estimation of its purpose; the money value being diminished or increased by the proportion that the demand bears to the supply.

And money is as fully one of the commodities of life, as any of the other commodities that go to make up the uses, needs, desires or luxuries of humankind.

When money is found and known to be in excess of its demand to fulfill its office of facilitating its exchange of commodities, when its supply exceeds its demand, its winning and earning powers immediately recedes in value; to that inexorable law which regulates value, as supply bears to demand, it is always compelled to accede, irrespective of the legal rate of interest which the law might claim as a just and equitable rate.

If the law cannot protect money or moneyed interests when the supply is in excess of the demand, by

what principle of equity or justice does it interpose, and by harsh and severe enactments prevent its full winning or earning power when its demand is in excess of its supply ? Is this justice or equity ?

Money will not be cheated out of its claimed rights or winning powers when its demand exceeds its supply ; but resorts to cunning, chicanery and subterfuges to effect its purposes and evade the law. But this is not in accord with morality.

It is true that most wealths are pitiless, and will exact the most extreme demands for their possessions that the exigencies of the case will allow ; but this is no more true of money than of any of the other commodities ; the relation that the visible supply bears to the demand will always control reputive values, and a compulsory restriction or mandatory affixment, as to selling price, as to any of the other commodities, has always failed, and will always fail, of permanency or effectiveness.

And this applies with equal force to the use or loan of money. With compulsory legislation prefixing price, either to money or any of the commodities, when the occasion allows it, there will be a seeming scarcity of such commodity ; or subterfuge or trickery will be resorted to, to realize the natural or demand value ; with the conditions reversed, with a supply exceeding the demand, the reputive value will fal below the prefixed value.

Although most large wealths and possessions were largely picked from the pocket of necessity, or piti-

lessly squeezed from starvation, not earned from the fruits of an honest industry, they will jealously guard their so called or claimed rights.

It were therefore wiser for government to resort to and be governed by natural ethics, natural laws, which would ensure the industry and prosperity of the whole, enabling a consequent reciprocal exchange value to all the commodities, which would necessarily include money, abolishing the dangers of what are termed usurious interest, and not to the adherence of unnatural, unjust and inequitable laws, whose sole claim to retention seems to have no better foundation than the antiquity of their origin and the continuity of their maintenance.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE BOND, THE MORTGAGE, AND THE JUDGMENT.

There are causes which nourish and cherish opposition to law and government. These causes, however are never to be found in truth, equity and justice, but in injustice, persecution and immorality. If law and government persists in the maintenance and upholding of these wrongs, it must finally pay the penalty in its own disruption.

And this penalty cannot possibly be avoided; it may be delayed through the might and the forces of the ruling powers, but will finally succumb to the growth of truth,

For truth has remarkable vitality. Persecution promotes its growth. The more you attempt to stifle it, the more widely and vigorously it spreads.

The justice, truth or equity of laws are not to be measured by the antiquity of their origin, or the continuity of their acceptations; for these conditions may simply indicate the retention of gross immoralities, through the powers and force of the law itself, and the inability to relief or justice on the part of the subject. To exemplify:

The "Shylock of Shakespeare" is held up to exe-

cration and disgust because he insisted on the penalty of the bond (for he was without the mortgage), yet the penalty of the bond was his only demand or security, and the penalty of the bond was but a pound of flesh; not securities that might realize a returned value for the loaned ducats. Yet the world of mankind vigorously applauds the recital of the trial where judgment was rendered, whereby both the principal and the bond was forfeited; and because of the inability to truthfully enforce the exact penalty of the bond (yet not a drop of blood to be taken or spilt), the holder of the bond was further punished to a compulsory renunciation of his religion and a confiscation of his estate.

Yet "Shylock's" only crime lay in the fact that he was merciless, that he had made an oath in a spirit of revenge for having been held in constant contumely, derision and contempt, to exact the penalty of the bond, should the penalty ever become his due. He was contented to sacrifice the principal; refused to accept three times the total of the principal when past due, only so as to exact the penalty of the bond. And the name and character of a Shylock has since remained a constant derision in the world of so-called civilization, for mercilessness is not of nature.

"The quality of mercy is not strained;
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath; it is twice blessed:
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes:
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest: it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown;

His scepter shows the force of temporal power,
The attribute to awe and majesty,
Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings:
But mercy is above this sceptred sway:
It is enthroned in the hearts of kings,
It is an attribute to nature itself;
And earthly power doth then show like natures
When mercy seasons justice."

Yet the penalty of the bond that goes with the mortgage is as pitiless, as merciless, as unjust, as the bond without the mortgage of an Antonio, so unreservedly condemned in a Shylock. Yet the world of so-called civilization pays so little heed to its own immoralities, its own iniquities, that it justifies in the penalty of the bond with the mortgage, though quick to condemn the penalty in the bond of an Antonio without the mortgage.

Let us examine into the justice of the aforesaid exposition through the searchings of a true philosophy.

In the Antonio bond the security had completely failed to redeem its obligation; and naught was left but the penalty of the bond, which had no market value.

In the bond with the mortgage, the examined, accepted, retained, and conceded security always lies in the mortgage, and the bond is presumptively but nominal and formal.

In the Antonio bond the attempt at exaction of the only penalty entailed the loss of the security or principal; the failure of the exaction of the penalty,

and a further proscription and loss of estate to the bondholder—and the world applauds his discomfiture.

In the bond and the mortgage, the security reverts to the possession and ownership of the bondholder, should he so will it; while the bond can be enforced for any alleged deficiency, in the examined, accepted, retained and consented security, that the bondholder may allow it to display. Yet in this case the world of so-called civilization applauds and justifies the discomfiture of the bondsman.

'Tis true, in the Antonio bond, the penalty, though consented to by the bondsman, was unnatural, inhuman, impossible of exact execution, was merciless; and the loss and punishment to the bondholder was therefore a justice, and a concession to the natural law and the natural purposes.

In the bond with the mortgage, the penalty of the bond is an immorality, an injustice, an inequity, a mercilessness, and therefore a contravention of the natural laws and the natural purposes. To exemplify:

The giving of a mortgage as a security for the loan of money or other indebtedness, virtually concedes the inability of the mortgagor to the retention of his possessions; or that the hardships of his conditions are such that without the securement of foreign or strange assistance he would be compelled to the giving up or the sacrifice of his possessions.

The taking of a mortgage as a security for the loan of money, or other indebtedness, indicates a willingness or ability on the part of the mortgagee to ac-

cept of, and be contented with, the security offered as a guarantee for the return of his transferred or equivalent possessions.

These conditions would determine, that in the conception of the mortgage itself, all of the advantages, if there were any advantages, lie with the lender not the borrower; the hardships of the borrower's condition preventing him from securing concessions, while the ability of the lender would dictate and enforce his demanded and required concessions.

The sacrifice of the security, if necessary to indemnify the loan or indebtedness, indicates a greater hardship to the borrower than even the harshness of the condition at the time of securing the loan, or ensuring an indebtedness, and no ability on the part of the borrower to protect or defend any of his rights to possession; otherwise he would not submit to the sacrifice.

The retention, or the right to retention, to the possession of the examined, accepted, retained and consented security of the borrower, should be a sufficient reward and indemnification to the lender on the failure of the borrower to redeem the loan; the loan not being effected or accepted on the bond, but always on the mortgage.

The security does not change its being or its nature. It is virtually held by the lender during the life of the mortgage. Conditions may change its reputive value, but not its real value. Real values

only lie in possessions in so far as they can be useful to the needs, desires or luxuries of the human race. Reputive values fluctuate by the exchange value that any commodity or possession bears as between any other commodity or possession. Money is simply the consented medium of exchange as between the different commodities; thereby and therefore, the base or unit, from which to estimate or compute the exchange value from. Natural, unnatural, or forced conditions may at times change reputed values, but never real values. A bag of potatoes, flour, or sugar, and these are of among the most useful of the commodities necessary to the needs of the human race (and which are only valuable in so far as they are useful or necessary to sustain life), can never appreciate in real value; though commercial conditions may arise which may cause them to largely appreciate or depreciate in reputive value.

This carries the conviction that although conditions may arise whereby the accepted and conceded security, which goes with the mortgage, may change as to reputive value, it cannot change as to real value; neither can it change as to its accepted security.

An acre of land, a dwelling house, a watch, a diamond, in fact any of the possessions which are conceded as of value to the human race, either as necessities or as luxuries, never change their real value; but may change their reputive value.

A thing or a possession is only of any value, real or reputive, in so much as it can be of avail to any of the uses, needs, desires or luxuries of humankind.

The real or permanent value of a thing, or posession, is the retentive value, the reputive value being the fluctuative value; the reputive value only being subject to any of the different conditions which govern the laws of commerce, whether these conditions resulted from natural causes or forced effects.

The accepted security which goes with the mortgage cannot change as to real value, and if consented to as security, in the acceptance of the same, remains of equal real value at maturity. The enforcing of an additional or further penalty, a consequence of a change in reputive value, and the greater hardship of the condition of the bondsman, is an immorality, an inequity, a mercilessness; and of equal crime as the attempt to enforce the penalty of the bond, for which a Shylock is held in just execration.

Yet mankind has been taught, by unjust ethics, unjust laws, to applaud and uphold whatever his selfishness or his greed encourages him to applaud; and to condemn all that is contrary to his own selfish ends, irrespective as to its equity, justice or morality.

If a law were enacted whereby, under severe penalties for evasion of the same, it were adjudged that a loaf of bread should never be offered for sale containing a less weight than eighteen ounces of flour, or a yard of cloth to contain less than eight ounces of wool; and that the object of the law was intended to protect innocent or ignorant purchasers

from being deceived or wronged in their purchases; it would simply indicate that eighteen ounces of flour was conceded as a fair apportionment for a loaf of bread as ordinarily made and sold, or eight ounces of wool a least and necessary proportion of wool to a yard of cloth.

But that the selfishness or greed of the makers were imposing less, and therefore dishonest weights or values in the making of these products; and the passage of such a law would imply that some of the makers of bread or of woolen cloths were acquiring unjust and dishonest wealth in their making of these two products.

Yet no law could be passed, and yet be considered valid law, which could compel these dishonest makers to give up, or surrender their dishonest acquirements; as such a law would be construed as an *ex post facto* law, or an interference with rights or possessions, which had not been denied, or adjudged as unjust, by any prior or existing law. Yet the fact of the non-existence of such a law, in nowise lessened the injustice or immorality of the acts or doings, which called for and made necessary the enactment and the penalties of the new law.

So, under unjust ethics and unjust laws, mankind is enabled and allowed the retention of possessions, which, by later law, may be adjudged as unjust and dishonestly acquired wealths (and this applies to his past acts), though these wealths may have a fixed and determined existence; but can be held to a con-

stant threat of penalty and punishment, for wealths or possessions which have no present existence, but which he may by future industry be enabled to acquire.

And the cause, or causes, which may create the condition for which this penalty may be adjudged, may arise from the inscrutable workings of the natural laws themselves, which are beyond the power, knowledge or control of man's design or intent, or through the workings of inequitable, unjust or immoral laws of mankind itself.

And man is held to punishment for acts and results (which may have originated in just and virtuous intent) beyond his control; but freed from punishment for acts and doings, immoral and wicked in origin and intention, and conceived and carried out in his own iniquity.

Yet this is on a line with the ethics and laws of that era, which acknowledged and upheld the right, justice, and even divinity of human slavery, or the title and possession of man in and to man. It was the era of brute force, of might over right.

If it is conceded as an injustice to enact a law, namely, an *ex post facto* law, which would call for a restitution of wicked and dishonestly acquired wealth, and which was finally conceded by law to have been wickedly and dishonestly acquired, and which possessions had a fixed and determined existence; it is a far greater injustice, wickedness and crime that a law should remain in force that can adjudge *a*

priori a tax on one's future possibilities; taxing that which has no present existence, may never exist, but which would act like a pall or nightmare over the one thing in existence that makes life itself endurable—the hope of a brighter possible future.

This would apply with equal force and truthfulness to the adjudgment and right of execution of any indebtedness or judgment as against a possible future acquisition. There may be a justice, a morality, in enforcing a just judgment as between the disputes and adjustments of the affairs of man, as against existing possessions; but there never can be a justice or a morality to apply the same as against an only possible future acquisition; as this would be an impugnment, and an infringement, as to the insolvable laws of nature itself; as man adjudges before nature has enabled.

That mankind often feels and admits the justice and morality of these conclusions, often finds full expression in the enactment of general bankruptcy laws, which have for their intent and purpose the enablement of the adjustment of the human affairs to an equilibrium and a freedom, disturbed through the courses and the causes of nature itself; removing the yoke of oppression which inequitable laws had fastened, as against the possible future hopes and ambitions of an unfortunate and proscribed humanity.

Inequitable and immoral laws are always inhuman and merciless in their application and effects. They

always bear heavily and most exclusively against the most deserving and just. The unjust readily discover the means to evade their enforcement, resorting to deceit and deception to accomplish their purposes. The cause of immorality in the people always finds its origin and justification in the immorality of the laws and the government itself; for like begets and encourages like.

Were the ethics which govern the laws of man natural ethics, not unnatural and corrupt ethics, the acceptations of an ancient, illiberal and harsher age, the penalty of the bond that goes with the mortgage, would soon, with the will, consent, and judgment of mankind, be accepted and placed on a plane or a level with the penalty that went with the bond of an Antonio, so righteously condemned in a Shylock; and would carry with it, in its consignment to a merited and obliquitous tomb, its foster iniquity and immorality, the rights to a penalty of a judgment, that could be applied as against mankind's possible future hopes and acquisitions, as an additional and unjust punishment for earlier misfortunes or mistakes.

The penalties of the bond that goes with the mortgage, or of the judgments adjudged and maintained as against man's future hopes, ambitions and possible acquisitions, are of the causes which nourish and cherish opposition to laws and government.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ON CORPORATE TAXATION.

Corporate taxation also meets with constant opposition, and its justice is fiercely assailed. The objection may, however, be ascribed solely to selfish motives.

A corporation is a body acting and being under special laws. The plea that corporate bodies are doubly taxed is the mainstay of the opposition to corporate taxation, because the individual stockholders of such corporate bodies are also individually taxed on their possessions irrespective of their corporate tax. This plea is not valid.

The corporate body is a distinct institution, acting in separate enterprise and industry, and although composed of individual stockholders, it in nowise interferes with any or each of the different individual stockholder's industries. Exempting them by special laws from certain individual liabilities makes the corporation industry absolutely distinct from the individual industry and possessions, and therefore makes the tax a fixed justice.

Each body representing an industry under the protection of the state, should be compelled to pay

its respective share of the benefits derived from and through the protection of the state; as no benefits can be derived either by or through the protection of the state, except through a special industry of either the corporate body or the individual itself; and as the individual stockholders are in nowise restrained or debarred from the employment of their own industry, no intelligent or valid reason remains, why each separate industry should not pay its own just share of taxation; for the taxation lies only upon the revenue supposed to be derived by that special industry, secured through and by the government protection.

If the corporation was freed from taxation, though the revenues derived from its industry was large, by dividing this revenue as dividends among a large number of stockholders, which might make the individual portion but nominal, the individual could consume and use all his receipts, so that no property would lie on which to secure taxation, and the state would thereby lose the taxation it was entitled to through its protection.

A proposition might be submitted, that even in the case just cited, the state would even then receive the portion of its tax from the industry furnished through the necessary consumption and uses of these individual stockholders. This would be true to the extent that it would apply.

But it would be inequitable to all employed in the other individual industries, who would be forced to pay the full demand of the tax, and who would also

be compelled to consume and use, for the sustenance and comforts of life, an equal proportion of the productions of the industries to that cited as of the individual stockholders of the corporation.

The laws, as they stand now under present ethics in certain states, taxes yearly the total capital of the corporate property of the corporation, whether that collective property had through its existence or purposes effected a profit or a loss. This is truly unjust and inequitable, not only as to the law itself, but as to the ethic.

Under a system of natural ethics, which would tax only the net profits of the corporation and never tax the loss, precluding forever a tax on the capital of the corporation, the tax would be just, proper and equitable.

XXV.

INDUSTRY OF THE WHOLE.

Industry of the whole must not be confounded as expressing only laborious mechanical or field labors; it must be taken to construe all industries which are of benefit or pleasure to the uses, needs, desires or luxuries of man; it must include within its purposes all professions, all arts, all sciences.

The government official, without whose services government functions could not be effected, and society upheld.

The profession of a physician or surgeon to heal or alleviate the sufferings of humanity, through the exigencies that nature itself creates.

The lawyer, when he applies his profession to honest purposes (which, unfortunately, under present ethics is too often misapplied, so as to create greater litigation and anxiety of mind), to harmonize between the passions of man, and equitably adjust disputed rights or properties.

The teacher, to instruct and direct the growing mind into the channels necessary and proper, to enable it to care for its further growth and purposes in relation to the intents of its own nature.

The musician, who can so harmonize sounds as to carry sweet delights to the ears of man.

The artist, who wields his genius to such purpose as to bring to the sight of man the image or the double of an imaginary nature itself.

The banker, the merchant, the accountant, and the many intermediaries essential and necessary in a great and full nature, to attend to the requirements of mankind—in the purposes of fulfilling and completing that necessary reciprocal exchange through which the uses, needs, desires and luxuries of mankind will be allowed a proper enforcement and diffusion; all these are necessary to the purposes of nature, and therefore essential to its execution.

Industry of the whole must not be confused as containing within its term an industry of vice, but only of virtue. Vice can also be, and too often is, industrious; but it is inconsistent with the natural requirements that makes society necessary and possible; a great purpose of society being to curb, restrict and stay the progress of vice.

With the industry of the whole maintained, all will be enabled to a reciprocal exchange value of the uses and needs of life—for even the industry of the common laborer permeates, enervates, and invades so many industries as to puzzle one in the computation.

By industry of the whole must be understoood, any serious and steady application of mind, joined with a vigorous exercise of our active faculties, in the

prosecution of any reasonable, honest, useful purpose which will lead to the accomplishment or attainment of some good.

Industry does not consist merely in action, for that is constant in all persons, the mind itself being a restless thing, never abiding in a total cessation from thought, or from some design.

But all which directs the mind to some good end in a straight and steady course, drawing after it our active powers in executing the same, constitute industry.

Adopt natural ethics, maintain the industry of the whole.

XXVI.

ETHIC OF TAXATION.

Taxation is as essential to government as government is to society, and the needs of humankind; neither can exist and maintain their purposes without the other.

The ethic as to the justice of taxation itself is seldom disputed; the objection applies only as to its manner, method and equity.

To perform the purposes of the function of government requires the services of what are termed the government officials—depending upon the form and nature of the government itself, certain of these officials are appointive, by those in whom the authority is vested; others are elective, by the voice of the people themselves.

As each subject is entitled to a reciprocal exchange value as to services or industry rendered, and as they who hold the governmental offices are but the subjects or representatives of the whole people; taxation represents the method and manner as to how to secure the necessary means to pay this reciprocal exchange value for the services rendered.

The intent and purposes of taxation, however, cannot be limited solely to the payment of salary

or wages for services rendered, but must extend to all the purposes and requirements that government itself should determine as necessary and essential to secure the people's welfare.

These means must be secured from the pockets of the people governed, and are always and only so secured, which is but just and proper, as they are the people who receive the exchange value of the services rendered, in the peace, prosperity and security which they enjoy under the government care. Sham and deception may pretend, for partisan purposes or personal gain, that the tax is exacted from foreign sources, but this is not in accord with the truth.

To many minds, the true nature, purpose and result of taxation is largely enigmatical; and a just exposition of its objects, purposes and effects, will free the subject of taxation from its many supposed mysteries, and allow the hitherto deluded subject to form a correct conception as to its justice.

Assume a community of a total population at a unit of one thousand souls for the purposes of illustration; and to avoid the confusion of confounding the mind with large or excessive numbers, this number will be just as conclusive as to true reasoning as one hundred million.

The average industry, or earning capacity, of these one thousand souls can be placed at one dollar each per diem, and the number of working days to the year at three hundred—this would realize a grand

total of the earning capacity of the entire community at the sum of three hundred thousand dollars.

To sustain the necessary requirements of life during this year of industry, let it be assumed that the community would consume one hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of their total earnings, leaving a profit or balance of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Taxation can and should only be exacted out of this one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and were this one hundred and fifty thousand dollars exactly proportioned, and equally earned, by each of this community of one thousand souls, no question could possibly arise as to the justice and equity of taxing each an equal portion of the government expense.

Were the total yearly expense of the government functions twenty thousand dollars, it would exact a tax of twenty dollars out of the earnings of each one of the community. Thus would be exemplified, pure, simple and equitable taxation—shorn of all the mysteries which the selfish or interested use to confuse and blind the mind of man.

Under present ethics, the aforesaid exposition does not exemplify taxation as at present enacted and exacted, but explains the true spirit and method of taxation as it would be under a code of natural ethics, were the result as to conditions such as just exemplified.

As the average earnings and industry of the differ-

ent members of a community are not uniform, the result of natural inequalities and immoral governmental systems, the majority being much poorer as to worldly possessions and advantages than the minority, a direct and uniform tax has always been steadily avoided, as it would be impossible of complete execution, and would therefore leave a deficit in the necessary and required government revenue.

Under existing ethics taxation has usually been placed on certain things, or on land or personal possessions, collecting the tax through custom or excise officers, or other authorized officials.

These methods of taxation often act with as an unequal a justice and harshness as a uniform compulsory or direct tax would act, because the rate of tax would not necessarily be equal as to the values of the things taxed, or the relative quantities of the taxed things used; because the things taxed might be used only by certain portions of the community; because were they used by all of the different members of the community, which would be very unlikely, they would not be used in equal quantities by the different members of the community, and the majority and least able portion of the community would pay the much largest part of all the burdens of taxation; because, although government was a requirement to all, it was more essential and of greater need to the minority, who would pay the least proportion of the tax, but would own the greater part of the possessions, and

secure the greatest and most lucrative profits and benefits; which can only be secured and maintained by and through government protection.

Because (referring to a tax on land or personal possessions) taxation should never rob a man of that on which he had already paid a tax, for this might lead to final confiscation; because taxation should never be devised so as to be exacted a second time from anything.

For a second taxation on the same thing or possession, when owned by the same subject, would always be a tax on a loss; (while under the conditions governing present civilization, and the great progress made in the arts and sciences, new possessions grow much faster than man's uses and needs); therefore, to tax a loss would be an injustice, a crime.

For, where possessions augment faster than the ability to consumption, a tax on a loss or on those possessions on which a tax had already been paid would correspondingly free to that extent a tax on a gain; and the loss that would be taxed might be or could be the result of an accident or of the phenomena of nature; while the gain or profit, that should only be taxed, would always be the result of a bounteous nature, protected, secured and enabled through the government function and the people's conjointure.

To illustrate the correctness of the philosophy of the different propositions and conditions heretofore cited, let a tax be enacted which would call for the exaction of five cents a pair on each pair of cotton socks or woolen gloves which were offered for sale.

It can here be stated, that it is not material to the proposition whether these were foreign goods subject to a five cents tariff duty, or to home or domestic production. (This proposition can also be as truthfully extended so as to apply to anything or everything that might be made subject to a tax.)

But only a certain number of the population might buy or wear cotton socks or woolen gloves, and this portion might be the poorest and least able part of the community; yet the remainder of the community would pay no share of the tax. Popositions similar to this are common to present ethics, and might be classified as disreputable, though legal taxation.

A subject owns a farm, horse, cow, etc. (bought with earnings acquired from a former industry), on which the tax had been paid by him at the time that he had acquired possession. With a careful and intelligent industry it returns but sufficient revenue or production to sustain the necessities of life; a second or continuous tax on these same possessions would be certain confiscation.

A subject or individual, who had paid his personal debts once, would never be asked or expected to pay the same again; yet under existing ethics and its method of taxation, as here exemplified, this is being constantly done.

The reasonings of a true philosophy firmly expresses the fact, that any or all manners of taxation, which are of multiform enaction and exaction, taxing special things or taxing special kinds of things, are all

virtually class-taxation; or even any tax, were it an only or a single tax, if it were exacted out of any special thing or possession, would of necessity, at times, be inequitable or unjust, from the fact that it could not be universal in its exaction; as it would be taxing some, exempting others; from the further fact that it would tax some losses, and it would free correspondingly some benefits or gains; this has been heretofore exemplified.

Two classes of taxation, or multiform taxation, would always determine as an inequity. If two classes of taxation could be enacted so as to be equitably exacted, what could be the possible object or purpose, if a single tax would accomplish the full purposes of taxation. It is with taxation as it is with truth; there is but one just truth; there can be but one just tax. There may be many claimed just truths, as to any of the single affairs of humankind, as there may be many claimed just taxes; but there can be only one which is virtually just. There may be many wrongs, but there can only be one right.

A tax to be absolutely just and equitable must of necessity be an only or a single tax; (for there is an only and a single truth to any of the affairs of humankind); must be uniform in its application, bearing with an exact and equal justice; should never be exacted twice, as against the same holder, of the same possessions on which the tax had once been paid; should always and only, to maintain perfect justice, be exacted from the net gains of the subject;

never to be applied or charged against profits that might have been expended, used, consumed, or destroyed in caring for the necessities or desires of life's purposes.

Nearly all forms of taxation are based upon a presumptive revenue; when not so based, they could as often determine as an inequity as a justice. Net profits would be a positive revenue, not subject to any equivocation or uncertainties; presumptive revenues at times fail of returns, or are largely deficient as to amount; at such times, a tax, based upon a presumptive revenue, would be a gross injustice.

A delusion greatly prevails, attributing to taxation the cause of most of the evils to which so-called civilization suffers and labors under; this delusion has no foundation in fact.

Undoubtedly, in inequitably and unjustly enacted and exacted forced taxation, which results in certain subjects paying all the taxes, and freeing others who should not be freed—benefiting some at the cost of others—it effects a gross immorality and injustice to certain individuals.

This occurs frequently under present ethics and present systems of taxation, but the injustice is not to be attributed to taxation itself, but to the method of taxation.

Taxation, particularly if equitably exacted, honorably adjusted and expended, can in nowise affect the wealth of the taxed subject; but rather assists to increase the wealth and the security of all, as the

whole of the moneys of taxation flows back into the coffers of the individual. If this were not true, what has become of all the moneys of taxation collected through the many generations preceding ours?

If it had been exacted out of the bone and sinew of the whole, or even a proscribed portion of the whole, what has become of it in its totality? where is it to be sought for or found in its concretiveness? How could the wealth and possessions of civilization constantly increase? From whence could the collective wealth and possessions have been augmented?

From the fact that the moneys of taxation flow back into the coffers of the individual; from the fact that the moneys of taxation increase the industry of the whole, through the increase of the consumptive ability; from the fact that through the function of the government, of which taxation is the essence, a greater security lies; which encourages a fuller growth of the bounties of nature; from the fact that all moneys properly expended, which increase to that extent the consumption and the employ of the various industries, act upon and increase the reputive value of the production in excess of the expenditure.

The industrial depressions and harshnesses, prevailing over the whole so-called civilized world are in nowise the effect of, or due to taxation; but are wholly the result of the steady progress made in all the arts and sciences, which enables equal or increased productions of all the natural bounties in excess of

the reciprocal exchange value power of the consumption.

This decreased consumptive power is caused by the fact, that a consequence of these improvements has been a displacement or discharge of the individual industry, to the full extent of the effects and results secured through these improvements, whereby the productive power maintains its full standard, while the consumptive ability or power constantly and steadily decreases in proportion to the improvements made.

The result of these improvements in the arts has this effect upon the industries, that although it increases or maintains an equal production at the cost of labor or industry, if that displaced labor finds no new industry, it depreciates the reputive values of the increased or maintained production to the full, if not to a greater extent, than the benefits derived from the improvements.

The greed or selfishness of individual man in his mad rush to acquire sudden or quick wealths, at the saving of industry, fails to realize this stubborn fact, and gives no heed or ear to the rumblings of the storm which this fact must finally disclose.

At this point taxation begins to appreciate and feel the effect of the changed conditions; from the fact that idleness, even if compulsory, increases the cost, the care, and the need of government to maintain a perfect security; that it would have to be exacted from the industry of a smaller community, the

displaced industry having lost its ability to share in the support of government—requiring support, not giving it.

From the further fact, that although the tax of the government cannot be lessened, but rather increased, the exchange or reputive value of the productions, through inability of full consumption, becomes seriously impaired, largely reducing thereby the possible revenue out of which taxation would have to be exacted.

It is at this point that taxation becomes a grave consideration, and the purposes of government must be made manifest, to control or stay a growing and serious evil.

It is because men will not acknowledge this great revolution in property or industry that has been and is now going on; because they persist in closing their eyes as to these truths, that so many acts of folly are now committed, and that nations are exposed to so many disorders. Here is, in a few words, the key to the universal agitation that at present prevails.

These conditions will not be bettered or alleviated through the acts of individual man; but would rather be aggravated, for his greed and rapacity prevents him from realizing any but self interest.

It is only by and through a *natural system of taxation*, which will enable the industry of the whole, distributed and supervised by the neutral and impartial hand of government, that these *evils can be obviated*, and a further and continuous prosperity realized.

The interposition and supervision of the guiding hand of government in the affairs of man acts as a pall, or a dread, to the minds of many men.

Yet what is constitutional government but collective man existing and expressing their will; and collective man is but the total of individual man.

Of what purpose or use the governmental function but to avoid and protect individual man from individual conflict and disturbances? Remove the governmental function, and shortly individual man will be hard at each other's destruction.

And taxation is the only medium that maintains this function in force.

Yet a condition confronts so-called civilization, hardly less pregnant with menacing dangers to all society.

And individual man's greed, selfishness, and lack of truthful knowledge, avoids the wise interposition of all the collective wisdom, mainly in the fear of infringement to his greater gains.

A philosopher once asked and answered the query: Why man fears the evils of anticipation more than existing evils? Because in the imagination, as in calculation, the power of what is unknown is immeasurable.

It is not paternal government that collective man requires, for collective man is government itself, and collective man is simply the total of individual man; paternal government would be destructive to individual ambition, which when justly exercised is nature's noblest bounty to man.

It is simply supervision and guidance by collective man, as between the individuals, that the conditions require, and which will prevent them from an otherwise inevitable conflict.

Yet man so fears the imaginary evils of anticipation, and a supposed encroachment on the profits derived from what he calls his own industry, not as the truth would expose, derived principally from the result of the industry of others, and which need never be an encroachment, but rather an encouragement; he so dreads the bare mention of taxation, though were taxation justly exacted and justly dispensed, it were more properly termed security than taxation, that he fails to appreciate the urgency, the necessity, that demands the adjustment of the ethics to natural ethics, which would ensure the industry of the whole, the prosperity of all.

Why do men of large possessions change their habitations from place to place, only to avoid taxation? it is because taxation is multiform; it is because the manner of the tax is immoral; because it can be exacted and demanded from so many different sources that there is no limit, as to the possibilities of or source of demand; it is because immoral and inequitable ethics creates immoral and inequitable legislation, and immoral and inequitable subjects.

Were taxation single, uniform and equitable, taxing only the net profit, and grading the tax with the growth of the profit, which would enable and sustain the industry of the whole, confiscating the

property of those who by denial or false statement attempt to avoid the exaction of the tax, men of large possessions would not dare to flee the exaction of the taxation; but for their own security and protection would hasten to ensure it.

Taxation, or security, under a system of natural ethics, which would take for its base a single graduated net profit tax, no matter what percentage of the net profits such a tax would require to ensure the industry of the whole (and without infringing on any of the individual industries), would finally ensure a greater profit, a greater security, a greater prosperity.

Under the multiform systems, as exacted at present, if applied to the community as a whole, it realizes naught but uncertainty, insecurity or despair.

To exemplify the assumption of the correctness of this proposition, that the employ of the idle through the guidance and surveillance only of the medium of government (not the direct employ by the government), increasing thereby the individual industry, and at the same time enabling the industry of the whole, the means to secure and enable this guidance to be exacted by the natural system of a single graduated net profit tax, let us revert again to a further exemplification, taking the first mentioned proposition of one thousand inhabitants as the unit or total of population.

With an average earning capacity of one dollar each per diem, and three hundred working days to

the year, would equal a total earning capacity of three hundred thousand dollars—this implies the total earning capacity of the whole population with all at industry, and all securing the full reward of their industry. To sustain the necessary requirements of life, let one hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of these total earnings be consumed, leaving a net total earning or profit of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, from which amount only taxation should in anywise be exacted.

Were the government expense, as before mentioned, twenty thousand dollars it would be equal to a tax of twenty dollars yearly to each inhabitant.

As once before expressed, it is immaterial as to the correctness of the reasoning of the philosophy, what unit is assumed, either as to population, rate of earnings or rate of government expense.

In accordance with this proposition each of the population would have a yearly earning capacity of three hundred dollars.

If through improvements made in any or all of the industries one hundred of these one thousand become idle, or displaced from their industry, the earning capacity of the total would be reduced or lessened thirty thousand dollars, and the ability as to exchange value as to the necessities of consumption, reduced fifteen thousand dollars.

If the consumptive capacity or necessity of the one hundred displaced or idle wants to be maintained up to its original capacity, it can only be kept up to its

fullness through the industry of the nine hundred employed, which would be equal to an indirect tax of fifteen thousand dollars; this would be equivalent to one-half of the full producing capacity of the displaced one hundred of the community had they been employed.

As no increase of wealth or possessions can be secured, and the reciprocal exchange value maintained, except from and through industry, the result would be to exact from and tax the nine hundred industrious, the full tax necessary to ensure the fulfillment of the government function, as the idle or displaced one hundred would acquire no new possessions from which to exact the required tax.

With the one hundred idle or displaced, placed again at any new employ, the individual industries would be increased to the full consumptive and earning capacity of the thirty thousand dollars, and enable the one hundred to care for its own share of the tax, saving thereby the two thousand dollars of the tax, which, if idle, they could not pay; saving the providing and caring for the necessities of the one hundred idle, which should be equal to a further sum of fifteen thousand dollars.

It might be said that the idleness of the one hundred, if it was retained in idleness, need only in fact cost to the employed of the population the addition of the government tax, namely, the two thousand dollars; that they could spare from out of their increased productions, that the improvements in the

arts enabled them to acquire (at the saving, as to the necessity of the employ of the labor, and the exchange value as to the cost of the labor of the unrequired, idle, or displaced labor) the little only that would be absolutely necessary to give them in so-called charity and keep them from starvation.

This reasoning is purely delusive; an increase of production over ability and use of consumption lessens both the reputive and actual value of the productions; the price of a commodity falls with the increase of the supply, and rises with the diminution.

Or it might be expressed thus: That the price of every article of commerce is inversely in proportion to the supply; or in other words, the price of an article depends on the proportion which the demand and the supply bear to each other.

And there is nothing in the interposition of money to affect this process. Its office is merely to facilitate the exchange of commodities.

This intervention should not be allowed to perplex the mind out of a right estimation of its purpose, the price being diminished or increased by the proportion that the demand bears to the supply.

To revert to the continuance of the exposition: If the productions of the industrious nine hundred of the population should actually be in excess of the uses of the community, the reputive value of the whole would reduce itself by the proportion that the demand, or the consumption, bears to the supply, or the production.

To illustrate: The industry of chair making requires one thousand chairs yearly to supply the demand, which, at a reciprocal exchange value, can be placed at one dollar each, or a total of one thousand dollars.

Were only nine hundred chairs produced, the increase in the demand, or the competition to secure those that were made, would increase the exchange value of the nine hundred chairs relatively in proportion to its supply, or say one and one-eleventh dollars each, and possibly more.

Were the production of chairs eleven hundred, the anxiety to dispose of all, on account of the surplus production, which would be non-marketable, would so stimulate the competition, as to disposition, as to decrease the exchange value relatively in proportion to its supply, say to ninety cents each, or possibly less.

This carries the conviction that an excess of production would be the reverse of intelligent, as it does not effect the total, or necessity of consumption; but would result in an injury by reducing the exchange value of the whole production in proportion to that excess.

Any employment of the idle or displaced one hundred, would allow of and grow the reputive value of all the production to the full consumptive value of the full production, maintaining the complete and actual reciprocal exchange value.

An equitable tax exacted out of the prosperity of the community, to an extent sufficient to enable the

full employ of the displaced or idle one hundred, as long as that employ was not directed to the actual channels, or interference with, or between the individuals of the industry of those employed in the individual industries, would increase the value of their production to the full consumption value; would enable the full consumption of the full production (not by so-called charity, but by actual demand); which otherwise would have to be restricted so as to maintain values.

Would more than recompense in the return the entire cost of the taxation, saving thereby to the employed of the community, the otherwise increased cost of the government taxation, namely, the two thousand dollars; saving the providing and caring for the wants and needs of the idle one hundred; equal to fifteen thousand dollars; enabling (in consequence of the improvements made and through which the one hundred had been forced to idleness) the ability and necessity of the whole production; which would be equal to the total earning capacity of the idle one hundred, or thirty thousand dollars; maintaining full reciprocal exchange value, which in all would equal forty-seven thousand dollars; as against a tax of thirty thousand dollars; (and which amount would all flow back into the channels from which it had been exacted) which would secure the industry of the whole, and an actual saving or profit to the total of the community of seventeen thousand dollars; proving, by a true

reasoning, that it can only be by and through the industry of the whole, securing the means to effect the same, through the enforcement of a natural system of taxation, if the tax be equitably enacted and exacted, that the welfare, prosperity and security of society can be maintained; and a reciprocal exchange value, as to the interchanges of the different necessary commodities held in force.

This exposition also fully determines the sophistry and fallacy of existing ethics as to taxation.

Taxation is not a tax to the subject; it is simply the payment for a reciprocal exchange as to man's necessities, as much so as an exchange of food would be for a reciprocal exchange of raiment, or other food; it would be immaterial as to the percentage of the tax, if the enaction of the tax was as to net profits; if there be equity in its exaction and enaction.

Society, as collective or individual man, cannot exist without government; neither can government be held in force without taxation or security; and the moneys of taxation as surely flows back to the sources from whence it was derived, as that it is exacted and expended.

To enable successful and concerned industry government must be; it is the clerk that attends to the details of the whole; its cost is returned in the net profits.

If the net profits of one subject are greater than the net profits of another subject, he should pay a greater percentage tax, not an equal percentage tax.

From the fact, that the government is employed by, and is the servant of both.

From the fact, that the industry of the whole must be maintained, and to retain, at the same time, the individual stimulus to a still greater emulation and ambition, naught but a progressive tax would enable and maintain the industry of the whole; which was constantly being disturbed, as a consequence, and a result of, the continued improvements being made in all the arts and sciences.

From the fact, that if the industry of the whole be maintained, the entire tax will revert and flow back again into the channels from which it had been exacted.

From the fact, that it were impossible for individual man to acquire large net profits if left to himself under any possible conceivable conditions; that he can only secure large net profits through the government protection and the industry of others of the community.

That to encourage all men's ambitions and emulations, the taxes should grow in rate as the profits grow in rate.

That if this condition be not maintained as the essence of taxation, that large individual wealth would still grow in such intensity, and man's vanity and selfishness would be so extreme as to restrict the majority of men from their just stimulus.

As no tax should be exacted twice out of the same individual's once-taxed possessions, if the individual

possessions became too great, and were not invested for purely personal gratifications, possible needs or pleasures; but were constantly reinvested in further old or new industries, which none but a graded net profit tax will help to avoid; it would prevent other individuals from attaining or securing their individual ambitions.

From the fact, that too excessive wealths can be of no other possible interest or use to man, except either to display an excessive vanity, or to destroy other men's purpose; that it is not an essence of human ambition, but it is simply human vanity.

That human vanity should not be allowed to conflict with the general human happiness.

That it is not true delight that men find in the possession of excessive and useless wealth, but only the false shadow of joy—there is no true pleasure in it.

That the heaping up of a useless mass of wealth, not from any use that it brings, but merely to please one's self with the contemplation of it, or to use it in competition with smaller interests, and thereby destroy their ability, would be avoided and largely prevented by the adoption of a single graduated net profit tax.

That as the graded net profit tax would be an only and a single tax, precluding a second taxation on the subject's same possessions, it would greatly encourage the creating and beautifying of men's homesteads, and all other personal possessions, which gives delight to the individual and encourages the industries.

That the greater the net profits realized by man through the fact of government and population, the greater the ability to pay the greater proportion as to percentage of the tax.

That as the greater the amount of taxes that would be paid, would always indicate the fact of the greatest net profits having been realized, or as representing the control of an equal large proportion of the industries, or other possessions necessary to the uses of the industries, the industry of the whole through maintaining full reciprocal exchange value of all their uses, needs, and desires, would encourage the belief of an equal proportion of the paid taxes flowing backward through the natural channels and uses of the industries, to the very sources from whence they would be exacted.

The theory of the present unjust ethic of taxation is that it should be indirect, so as not to be appreciable to the people. As if taxation were a crime and not a justice; that it should be placed upon certain things which could best bear the tax; as if injustice could be made equity by class legislation; that it exempted the rich or most able, so as to secure partisan support.

The amusing conceit, so often predicted, that a change of method, or an increase of taxation, would prevent and drive capital away from the industries is almost too absurd or simple to admit of comment.

As heretofore expressed, there is nothing in the interposition of money that affects the industries.

Its office is merely to facilitate the exchange of commodities; this intervention should never be allowed to perplex the mind out of a right estimation of its purpose; it can in nowise affect the question of supply or demand, or the necessity for the employ of the industries.

Taxes are always and only paid by the people as consumers, no matter in what manner or form exacted, as the matter of the tax will always be included in the cost of production, and charged to the consumption.

In a single graduated net profit tax, no charge for tax need be added as to cost of production, therefore all inequities, as to inequality of tax payment, will be avoided, as no tax, or liability to tax, would ever lie, or be exacted, until new possessions had proven a net gain.

Capital or money never encourages any industrial enterprises except those which promise profit. It will never knowingly enter into a production in which the supply exceeds the demand.

It will constantly seek for and crave for all industries which encourages a profit.

Capital or money will never be controlled from the industries by the dread of taxation, particularly when that taxation is fixed and permanent; it will always seek even presumed profitable investments.

All the reasonings of a true philosophy demonstrates the fact that taxation is not a burden, but a benefit—if equitably enacted and exacted. It is a

bonus, not an onus, and that it is to the errors of present ethics and present methods of taxation, and the inequities and immoralities of its enactions and exactions, in connection with the improvements constantly being made in all the arts and sciences controlling the industrial world, that has driven all civilization into a condition of depressions and hardships that cannot be much longer endured. The analogy as to the eqnity completes the philosophy as to the true method or the natural system of taxation.

XXVII.

ADDENDA TO THE ETHIC OF TAXATION.

A novelty of proposition will always encourage a multitude of opposition. If the equity of the proposition is so truthful and forcible as to crush or deny, cavil, doubt or strength to the opposition, it at once resorts to subterfuge, deceits, evasions and delusions, to avoid the truth or the facts, taking too strong a hold or conviction, on the general, or uninstructed and unselfish minds.

Of the most often reiterated objections, and always strenuously urged oppositions, to the justice of a single graduated net profit tax, when no other valid objection can be offered, are hordes of officials necessary to enforce its exactions; avoidance by the subject of or to the payment of the tax; impossibility of securing accurate and faithful reports from all the subjects, through perjury or false statement, which could throw an extra burden of the tax on the virtuous, or otherwise the just.

The sophistry, fallacy and deceit of all these generally offered objections can be very readily exposed. If laws are justly enacted so as to provide for proper exaction, to collect ten separate taxes from the inhabitants, let it be conceded, would require ten offi-

cials; it could not possibly determine that it would require hordes, or many times ten officials, as might be implied and inferred from the term hordes, to collect one tax, from the same inhabitants; but one single official for each of the otherwise ten officials, or in simpler words, the fewer the number of the taxes to be collected, the fewer the number of officials necessary to collect the same.

Can philosophy demand further reasoning, that if it should require ten officials to collect ten taxes, it should not require more, but less officials, to collect one tax, or one-tenth of ten taxes.

The other offered objections for the purposes of simplicity of refutation can all be combined. A properly enacted system, made so expressive as not to require explanation, doubt or disputation (and the collective human wisdom is certainly efficient to this simple requirement) which would force the subject to the required details, not the official; which would furnish to the subject, or make him apply for it himself, of a detailed formula, which had to be returned to the proper authorities before a certain day. (And if the subject fails to comply with the law of his own accord, make the penalty the same as if he did comply, but had falsified in the compliance.)

This formula to call for the necessary information in detail of the government requirements. Compel the subject to fill out the requirements of the formula, and verify as to its truthfulness before a certified authorized official; holding the subject strictly

responsible for his own act; any unintentional error that he may discover, he should have liberty to correct within a limited time after surrendering his statement.

If he returns truly he would be doing his duty as the government requires, and as a good and worthy subject should do. If he falsifies in his returns, let the punishment be simple but effective.

If falsification be discovered during the life of the subject, and affords no truthful or able justification, which the courts can determine, let the punishment be an imprisonment, and the confiscation of the estate to the extent of many times the amount of the falsification, as the smuggler is punished should his crime be discovered.

But as the crime of avoiding the payment of a single tax might be more easily perpetrated or falsified, and hidden until the death of the subject (when the estate should pass through the hands of the government for verification as to the truthfulness of the payment of the just taxes), confiscate the estate to the extent of many times the amount of the falsification; the confiscations to escheat to the government; depriving to that amount what would otherwise be of and belong to the heirs.

There would not be many knaves to avoid a law as just as this. There would be no equity in the proposition that the heirs or successors should not pecuniarily suffer for the crime of which they were neither cognizant of nor party thereto.

If a thief steals possessions, and dies without punishment, or before the discovery of the theft, the stolen possessions would not be valid, and belong of right to his children, his legal heirs, or his willed successors.

In neither case should the child, heirs or successors be punished by an imprisonment for the crimes of others; but neither would they have in either case any right to the possessions that belonged to others; for under the law the title to property which was illegally held, or the confiscation of property which was made part of the punishment, should revert to the rightful owner.

In the one case, to the party from whom the thief had stolen the possessions. In the other case, to the government that had been robbed, with the penalties attached thereto, which property penalties, to that extent would remain, whether the subject were alive or dead. This would be pure equity.

It would not answer the requirements of such a condition, to simply confiscate the property to the amount of which the government had been robbed, for in such a case the punishment would not be equal to the crime. Further, it would encourage the commission of the crime, as the government could only then take that in amount of which it had been robbed; and this would not prevent the crime. In case of death before discovery, there would be no punishment whatever; and great care would be exercised to hide the wrong.

The proposition as to inquisitorialness of method has been heretofore analyzed. Inquisitorialness as to method cannot lie as to where the method is universal, and applies with equal force to the whole population. It might to a certain extent be made to apply, as a supposed injury, to that most delusive and deceitful of all the human attributes, namely, the human vanity; but this is hardly worthy of intelligent man's comment, more particularly as against the prosperity and happiness of the multitude.

XXVIII.

THE ANALOGY AS TO THE EQUITY.

Represent a community or a population at a unit of one thousand beings, each living in the center of an area of their own of one square mile.

For the purposes of guaranteeing, as between themselves, any losses that may arise from the element of fire, which if it should occur to either separate one of the community, might destroy their home, security and possessions, and through such their future care and provision.

They combine under one general organization or government, under the title or name of the Mutual Benefit Fire Assurance Association.

They organize and select five of their own number to manage, control and arrange all of the details necessary to assure one another, in the purposes for which they had combined, agreeing to pay to them for the services to be rendered, arranging as to the value of the different services, the sum of ten thousand dollars, also allowing for the other general expenses, such as rents, light, service, stationery, etc., an additional sum of five thousand dollars, or a total of fifteen thousand dollars a year.

They organize with a paid-up capital of five hun-

dred thousand dollars, each one of the community subscribing to one five hundred dollar share.

Under the condition of organization, each would be equally concerned in the benefit or prosperity of the association, and each would equally have to bear any losses that might arise.

All preliminaries having been arranged and perfected, the board of directors announce their readiness to carry out the purposes of the organization.

The risk as to a loss from fire, taking in the calculation the whole community, had been carefully examined into and arranged into ten average risks, or one hundred of the population to each division of the risks; each of the risks being represented by one of the first ten letters of the alphabet, A to J inclusive.

The risk A represented the least possible risk, or the most positive security. This was arrived at from the fact that the buildings, and in everything pertaining to the same, the nature of the business carried on in the same, the many improved preventatives and precautions against danger from fire, that had been adopted to avoid the probability of a loss from fire; enabled all to consent that the risk A should be rated as the minimum risk, or the unit or base from which all the other advancing or increased risks should be graded from.

The risks of all the subsequent grades, being based and rated upon the relative proportion of the risk of destruction from fire, taking risk A as the highest protection, or the least risk.

In making and rating the risks to be assured, the directors exercise the discretion to accept of no risk in excess of the sum of ten thousand dollars, so as to make their total capital somewhat commensurate, with the total amount which will have to be insured, as to a probable percentage of loss that may occur, and the correlative security as to ability to pay such losses if they should occur.

Taking risk A as the premium risk, which they would insure up to full value, provided the full value did not exceed ten thousand dollars—as the risks increased in grade although the proportionate rate of the risk or premium is increased relatively, as to that charged for the preceding grade, they decrease or reduce the proportionate amount to be guaranteed and insured against a loss from fire, as to the total value of the property to be insured, in precisely the same proportion as the risk and the rate charge bears to the preceeding rate or grade.

The object of this is that as the presumed risk, or danger from fire, increases with the grade, if the risks in comparison to the value of the property insured were not maintained in equal proportion, the conjoined capital and premiums received might not be commensurate with the dangers assumed, and would correspondingly depreciate the interests and security as to the better-grade risks.

Also on account of the greater degree of care, expense and precaution needed to protect the same against the taking on of fire; to make the parties

thereto relatively share in their proportion as to the risk assumed, which would enable a correspondingly greater security to all.

Risk A, representing the minimum risk, is rated at a charged premium of one per cent.; risk B, two per cent.; risk C, three per cent.; risk D, four per cent.; risk E, five per cent.; risk F, six per cent.; risk G, seven per cent.; risk H, eight per cent.; risk I, nine per cent.; risk J, ten per cent. The relative proportion of risk and premium, as between A and B, would be just double; as between A and J, the risk and premium would be increased tenfold.

Insuring the one thousand population or members, as divided and arranged in the ten different grades, and taking ten thousand dollars as each risk insured, the total receipts from premiums would amount to five hundred and fifty thousand dollars; the total amount insured would be ten million dollars; the total capital invested, five hundred thousand dollars; the total expense of the year, fifteen thousand dollars.

With five hundred thousand dollars as capital, and five hundred and fifty thousand dollars received as premiums, with an expense of fifteen thousand dollars, it would leave but a total of one million and thirty-five thousand dollars, which would include all the company's possessions, to pay toward an assumed risk, if it were a total loss, of ten million dollars, or a fraction over ten and one-third per cent.; which assumed risk of itself would be considerably less than the actual total value of the possessions insured.

Although a total loss were barely a probability, it would ensure only an equal proportion of all the assets to all the members in the different grades, irrespective as to the amount of their total losses.

It must therefore be strongly borne and impressed upon the mind, that each would be entitled to, and receive, only an equal proportion of the total assets, in such a condition as just cited, as each had but a risk of ten thousand dollars insured. (Although the different and advancing grades had freely and consentedly paid a graded percentage of premium, in addition to a greater individual risk to themselves —in order to maintain an equity of interests to all.)

Should a ten thousand dollar or a greater loss by fire occur to any one in risk A, they would receive ten thousand dollars, on a premium paid of one hundred dollars, and possibly be fully indemnified for the whole loss.

Should a ten thousand dollar or greater loss by fire occur to any one in risk graded J, on a premium paid of one thousand dollars they would receive ten thousand dollars and would only realize a limited percentage of the total loss.

Yet this is conceded to be equitable and just to all, and by all of the population or members of the company, although all owned an equal proportion of the interest and total of the company.

Were not this, or an equitable system, adopted to that heretofore cited, it were impossible to maintain the security or solvency of the company; and to

secure each and every one of the population against losses that might arise from the one element of fire.

It might be said that the possible risk from fire to those in grade A were very remote; and to those in grade J, correspondingly great; but the difference in the degree as to the possible risk, had been provided for—in the difference in the rate of premium, and the less proportion of the risk assumed—as to the total of the value of the individual property assured.

Besides the different grades are not assured as to the probability as to fire, but as to the probability as to the avoidance of fire.

If this were not the case the risks assumed on any of the grades could not be maintained with ability as to the payment of the loss.

In fact, it could so result that fires may only occur (in consequence of the presumed less watchfulness needed) in grade A, which if all the risks were of grade A, it would be impossible to maintain, and would soon destroy the capital and security of the whole. To illustrate:

One per cent. of the total of one thousand would equal ten, who if insured at ten thousand dollars each, would equal an assurance of one hundred thousand dollars.

A population of one thousand equally assured at ten thousand dollars, at a premium of one per cent., would only realize a total premium of one hundred thousand dollars; which would only pay the loss, while the expense of the company would have to be taken out of the principal of the company.

Or it might with equal justice be said that if percentage, as to rate charged, should be taken as to the probability of loss from fire as before cited, with the ten different grades, A to J, the total premium would but realize five hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and the loss of percentage from fire five and a half per cent. or five hundred and fifty thousand dollars; which would be impossible of maintenance as the expense would have to be taken out of the principal; yet it could so occur that the losses might be far in excess of the average as to the grade.

Suppose all the fires should occur in grade J, which, being the greatest risk, would be equal to ten per cent. of the total of the company, and which paid ten per cent. premium.

The loss would be to ten per cent. of the population or one hundred; the premiums received five hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the total loss would be one million dollars, or after deducting the expense of the company fifteen thousand dollars, would leave but thirty-five thousand dollars as the total assets of the company—equal to a loss to the company of four hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars. This would destroy the company.

This completes the reasoning that the assurance is not given or taken, as to the probability of fire, but on the probability as to the avoidance to fire.

Yet the different individuals in the different grades acquiesced in and consented to the justice and equity as to the rates charged, and the proportion of the amount assured, as to the total value of

each individual property—so as to ensure a security and peace of mind to all, in regard to the purposes for which they had organized or combined.

Because one could not be fairly protected without all were fairly protected.

Because it were equally impossible to protect all, except they to whom the comparative risks or benefits supposed to be derived—on account of the greater dangers that might be anticipated from their risks—paid a relatively larger percentage as to premiums paid—and accepted a relatively less indemnification as to proportionate losses that might be sustained, in order to a greater security to the whole, of which they were also a part.

Thus is fully exemplified a proposition in which man, over all so-called civilization, is constantly concerned and employed in, and the justice or equity of which is never disputed.

Reverse this proposition and exposition so as to read:

Mutual Benefit Fire Insurance Association.	Government or society.
For thousand members of the company.	The thousand beings as the unit or total of population.
For board of directors.	Government officials to carry out the governmental function.
Premiums paid.	Taxes paid.
Risks assured.	Net benefits or profits received.
As to the grading of the risks taken and premiums paid.	Grading as to the taxes to be paid, as to the net profits realized.
As to the enabling security to the whole.	As to enable the industry and security of the whole.

And the reasoning as to the equity, justice and virtue of the converse proposition, will reach just as natural and true a sequence.

The first four propositions, as no occasion need lie to encourage dispute, call for no further comparisons or explanations; as nearly all men admit the justice and necessity of government—as to the total of population as to government—as to the necessity of officials to enable the fulfillment of the government function; and as to the necessity of taxes or taxation, to enable the execution of the governmental requirements.

Can any intelligent proposition be submitted why, if men are congenial, to pay premiums or taxes for risks, that are absolutely but a possibility, not a probability, and which might never occur in fact; in which the percentage of the risk assumed is as a proportion of ten million dollars would be as to five hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars, having deducted the absolute expense necessary to enable the company's function, or nearly as one is to twenty.

In what method or manner can an opposition be justified, to paying a premium or tax on an absolute net profit which insures to the subject or taxpayer life, liberty, the right to their own pursuit to happiness, peace, prosperity and security as to their possessions, that their industry, accident, good fortune or other legalized circumstances, may enable them to accumulate.

The benefits for which these premiums or taxes

would have to be paid, would not be presumptive, possible or probable, but unconditional, absolute; in the other case the premium or tax has to be paid, not as against an absolute, or a probable, or a possible fire, but only as against an avoidance to a loss from a possible fire.

True philosophy can barely demand further reasoning, as to the equity of the analogy, on the fifth subdivision of the proposition, with all the credits in favor of the government tax; as to total results in favor of the tax on net benefits or profits.

Neither the risks assumed in the one case, nor the benefits realized from the other, could ever be made reasonable, plausible, possible or efficient, without the conjointure or support of the whole body.

Reverting to the analogy as to the relative truth conveyed, as to the comparisons as between subdivision six.

If the fifth subdivision determines an equity and a justice, the sixth will scarcely deny of a much more positive assurance, as to the equity and justice of its teachings.

In the assurance company, the subject or member pays an increased premium or tax for a decreased indemnification, as to proportion of property which might possibly be destroyed by fire.

He acquiesces and consents to the justice of this increased tax—which carries with it also an increased risk as to himself; he does this absolutely and solely so as to assist toward ensuring the enabling of the

possible functions of the company of which he is only an equal part; and to maintain, so far as he can adjudge, a supposed equitable and fair security to all.

He does this so far—that if he does not consent to that which equity demands as a fair apportionment as to the benefits that might be attained, and the proportionate risk to be assumed, so as to secure as far as possible a relative security to the whole, he would be refused any co-operation in the possible benefits that might be derived from a union with the organization, or the whole.

He does this with a knowledge that he is paying premiums or taxes for risks that are absolutely only a possibility, not necessarily a probability, and may never be realized; in fact, as to a risk in which the total percentage of the risks assumed, as to the total of the assets of the company, is as one to twenty would be.

In what method or manner can an opposition be maintained or justified, to a subject or member paying the increased premium or tax on absolute net profits, which ensures him all the blessings that government security and civilization can offer.

The benefits for which these graded premiums or taxes are to be paid are not presumptive, but unconditional, absolute. In the company case the graded premiums or taxes are paid, not as against an absolute or even a probable fire, but only as against an avoidance to a loss from a possible fire.

True philosophy will not demand further reason-

ing, as to the equity of the analogy on the sixth subdivision of the proposition, with all the credits in favor of the assumption of the higher justice, of the single graduated net profit government tax.

This finally reduces the comparisons as to the analogy to the seventh or last proposition; as to the company's proposition, so as to enable the security to the whole, or as to the governmental proposition to enable the industry and thereby the security of the whole.

Neither the risks taken by the one, nor the net benefits realized from the other, could ever be made reasonable, plausible, possible or efficient, without the conjointure or support of the whole body.

Were there no organization or community to form such from, there could be no mutual agreement as to rates, risks or indemnification, as to possible losses from fire.

Were there no community, no population, no government, there could not possibly be any net profits.

If men produced more than they required for their own uses and needs, but had no population to sell their surplus production to, it would be useless to them, and there would be no reputive value to their surplus production, from which they might compute net profits.

If, as in the system of graded premiums in the company, they enable a security to the whole company; by the system of grading the taxes, on the net profits, they would enable the industry of the whole;

which would more than equalize, enabling the security to the whole company as to only a possibility.

It would not only enable a security to values (which otherwise would be constantly fluctuating, with a continuous downward tendency), which would more than equalize the security to the whole, as applied to the corporation; but it would also constitute an additional security to life and possessions, by taking all so disposed from idleness to industry, from an incentive toward final wickedness, to a purpose, to greater virtue.

Thus has been justified the truth as to the analogy as to the equity, assuming an accepted business proposition as the base.

Men may contend that it is to their superior industry, their superior ability, their superior so-called economy, their superior sobriety, which enables them to greater rewards and possessions over others, and that it were unjust to tax them more heavily, to compensate for the idleness or inebriety of others.

This assumption is so inconsistent with the truth that it must need refutation. In the same community in which these assumptions are constantly asserted, men of greater and more determined actual industry; of far greater universally acknowledged ability; of far greater enforced so-called economy; of far greater and more willing sobriety; find it difficult in consequence of false ethical systems, and no doubt a juster moral training, to secure even a sufficiency to sustain life.

This last assertion is certainly evident to all truthful seeking minds, and needs no further disputation.

Were this ridiculous assumption as to their moral and intellectual superiority in anywise truthful, it were physically impossible to acquire great possessions and values without the conjointure and support of the whole.

Establish and assert natural ethics, and let all men live in peace, security and harmony with each other.

XXIX.

THE ETHIC AS TO PROGRESS IN THE ARTS.

Applying a natural philosophy as to the effect upon any or all of the individual industries, a consequence of the progress made in the arts and sciences under present ethics, it will always determine itself to the same purpose, namely, that it increases production, displaces industry, lessens values; carrying in its train a coterie of evils and dangers, in place of an increase of comforts and a greater security.

Partisans, in their every effort to affix and explain the cause or causes that spring from this great and constant progress in the arts and sciences, resort to the subtlest sophistries, the most dishonest analogies; distorting the most evident truths and facts which led to these results, to the acts either of omission or of commission of their respective adversaries; and do all this solely for partisan or personal advantages.

But the truth, the fact, remains, that over the whole so-called civilized world, under all and very different systems of government, the same conditions prevail as to the industrial depression, and the consequent harshness on the general welfare of the people.

This verifies the conclusion, that the conditions

are not the result of any disadvantages arising from special territorial location; not the effect of any special partisan measures; not the sole consequence of any special legislation; but is wholly and fully the result of the false system of governmental ethics, which continue to maintain effete and unjust systems, ignoring the progress made in all the arts and sciences, which brought with it a greater general knowledge and want.

For many decades and generations the final and fuller harshnesses have been delayed and avoided, by the discovery and populating of new or undeveloped countries; and the discovery and perfecting of the developments of the new methods of industry.

All appear to have now attained that condition where further progress is debarred and useless; in consequence of the fact that present conditions now enable a much fuller productive than consumptive ability, which tends to a still further and continuous displacement of industry; and until a new system of natural ethics is substituted for that of present ethics, must constantly grow harsher in intensity, or until the bonds which hold it in force will break of their own density.

These depressions and conditions are not of sudden birth or mushroom growth, but have been growing slowly and steadily through the course of many ages.

The visions of presumed or apparent temporary prosperity, consequent upon heretofore mentioned causes, may have blinded the reasoning power of

man as to the actual growing conditions, for man is easily and willingly tempted with present plenty; but the truth still remains that under existing ethics progress always finally interferes with the uses and the needs of industry. The growth of wealth or new possessions may indicate individual accretions, but only healthy diffusion accomplishes actual prosperity.

Let philosophy verify these truths by hypothesis, and to make the verification more clear, assume the entire community, or population, at a unit of one thousand people.

Let these be divided up into ten different industries, each necessary to the uses, comforts and necessities of all. It enables and requires the industry of the whole to secure a reciprocal exchange.

Let it be assumed that in the natural and normal condition of these several industries, each would require the employ of one-tenth of the community or one hundred of the population.

It need not be said that the subdivision of these industries, and the comparative numbers required in each, would not necessarily or naturally be uniform, as the principle deduced from the reasoning will always be equally truthful and of force.

To carry the hypothesis to full completion, let it be assumed that the reciprocal exchange, or money value, of the services of each of the community was rated at a per diem value of one dollar, or a total of one thousand dollars per day.

Any difference of pay as to rate, earning, or value of service, need not affect the true reasoning of the philosophy.

Divide these necessary industries representing the full community as follows: Farmers, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths or wheelwrights, grocers, bakers, butchers, shoemakers, clothiers and professional people—which latter may include all those not directly employed in the trades.

With one hundred men in its division of industry with a full employment, let it be assumed that the shoemakers can produce four thousand pairs of shoes each year—a sufficiency to allow for the full use of the entire community.

An improvement in the art of making shoes enabled the manufacture of six thousand pair of shoes each year, without requiring the services of a single additional help.

As six thousand pair of shoes are one-third in excess of the ability of consumption of the whole community, this improvement in the industry of shoemaking would displace the industry of thirty-three men, of whom if no new industry were devised or discovered, to enable their employment, would throw them on the community as so much idleness (and whether idleness is compulsory or not is not material as to result) who have to be provided for out of the collective productions, or made to suffer the misery and wretchedness of want.

The positive displacement of this thirty-three of

the community, although more keenly felt in the displaced industry itself, permeates through (and to the percentage of loss as to the total of the community), and is felt and acted upon through all of the industries of the entire community.

It might be said that as progress in the arts enables a larger and it may be a cheaper production, man can become more luxurious and consume more of the comforts of life.

This may be in part true, and should be the sequence, as it undoubtedly is the intent of a generous nature; but here the ethics of man which demands a reciprocal exchange value of the different products, interposes and denies the advantages that nature gave.

If these displaced subjects could be placed in any possible new employ (which would not interfere with any of the individual industries, for we start from the hypothesis, that in their original or normal condition, all of the industries enable a production sufficient for the uses of the whole community), it would not matter what that employ were, the progress in the shoemaking industry would prove a benefit to all.

By allowing this displaced industry to remain in idleness (it not only entails the caring for the support of this idleness, or driving it in desperation to crime, or its own destruction) the earning and the consumptive value of the community would be reduced thirty-three dollars per day, or three and one-third per cent. of the total.

Increasing the production of the shoe industry to the full extent of the improvements made, without displacing any part of the industry itself, would produce six thousand pair of shoes.

This, however, would be of no object or profit to the leaders of the industry, as it would enable an excess of two thousand pair over the needs and uses of the whole of the community were it all employed.

The object and profit of all improvements, or progress in the industries, would be a betterment in the production itself without increasing the cost of same; or an equal production as to quantity and quality at a saving of the amount of labor required to enable the production.

The ethic or selfishness of present man will not permit of an excessive production; for as soon as that fact is discovered, which the market or demand itself will finally disclose, he will absolutely stop the industry, until a healthy or normal condition can be again realized, namely, as to a relative supply only as to demand, so as to secure a full reciprocal exchange value; or if it were more to the individual advantage, displace a sufficient number of the industry, to enable a more gradual approach to the original conditions, where the production of its own industry as well as of all the other industries of the community were such as to secure only a reciprocal exchange value, as to their exchange of the commodities.

Individual man encourages the development and the progress in the industries, only so as to secure

an extra benefit and profit to himself; he allows no sentiment of philanthropy to enter into his calculations, but is controlled exclusively to selfish ends.

Though this end is not in consonance with the purposes of the total of the community, or the completeness of nature, it is in thought and line with individual nature, which has grafted that trait in general mankind, so as to encourage a growing ambition and emulation.

Progress in the arts and sciences which enable a greater production of all the industries should always determine the result as a natural blessing; allowing a larger luxury and comfort for all to enjoy; but this can only be secured and of avail and purpose, where the industry of the whole is closely maintained; where such is not the case, it may advantage certain individual interests, but must finally be reversive to the prosperity of the community as a whole.

The improvements in the shoemaking industry, as expressed above, displacing thirty-three of the total population of one thousand (which was adopted as the unit or base, from which to deduce the true philosophy as to conclusions and results) from out of their field of usefulness and self-maintenance, reduces the total of the productive power and purpose of the population to nine hundred and sixty-seven; and lessens and reduces the reciprocal exchange value of the services of the total of the community to nine hundred and sixty-seven dollars per day.

Can it be verified by any system of true reasoning,

that a population of nine hundred and sixty-seven subjects, possessing a full value of their services, at nine hundred and sixty-seven dollars per diem; and an idleness of thirty-three to be protected, supplied and cared for from want and distress, were of equal service, value and profit, to the total of the community, as the full employment of the one thousand subjects would be with one thousand dollars as the full value of the service, and no idleness to be cared or provided for.

An extra production does not increase the earning value of the services rendered, as this production can be acquired and often is, by displacing the subject or consumer; but would rather lessen the earning or reputive value of all the services rendered, by forcing the displaced industry, through the hardships which its own necessities would create, to push itself back into employ in the place of others employed, even at a less value for their service, so as to avoid starvation and wretchedness.

The leaders of the industry will always advantage themselves of such conditions, to further enrich their own possessions.

It may be claimed that population and the needs of population grow in line with the progress in the arts and sciences; were this true, would there be throughout the whole so-called civilized world such universal depression, such extreme harshness, such enormous and increasing idleness?

It is undoubtedly true that population grows as

well as the progress in the industries grow; but the progress in the industries grow far in excess of the growth of population, or the ability as to reciprocal exchange value to supply their needs, or no incentive could possibly lie to discharge industry; displacing the same from usefulness to idleness, thereby losing their market, if this industry were essential and necessary to supply the growth of population.

It might further be said that there could be no such thing as overproduction, consequent upon the material progress in the arts; that new markets could be secured to enable and dispose of all surplus production.

This might be valid to a very limited extent, or as to a few certain specialties, in which foreign growth or manufacture could not be secured or made, in consequence of climatic or other intelligent cause.

But the wisdom and ability of all so-called civilized nations are about equal, and the conditions of hardships and idleness are universal.

It were the extreme of folly to give credit to the belief that nations would remain passive, allowing other nations to be benefited at the increased hardships and idleness of themselves.

There could not be such a fact as overproduction were the industry of the whole constantly maintained; for as fast as the progress in the different arts and sciences would displace any of the subjects of special industries, by enabling an equally full production without their full employ, the employ of

this displaced industry in any new field, absolutely free and freed from any of the existing industries, would enable a full consumption of all the productions.

An improvement similar in effect to that cited as belonging to the shoemaking industry, extended to any or all of the other industries, would be precisely similar as to total result and effect on the total of the community.

As such conditions become more and more universal, the depressions, hardships and idleness would grow in intensity.

Further inquiry into an industry widely diverged from that of shoemaking (namely, that of tenement or house building), as to the effect from the progress in the arts and sciences on the security and peace of the whole, reaches in conclusion the same result.

Improvements in the art of building, of making and securing all the necessary materials, and the manner of the erection of buildings, grow faster than the growth of population; as in all of the other arts, the object and gain of the improvements is to increase and enable an equal production, so as to supply the whole wants of population at the saving of, and the displacement or discharge of labor. This is natural as to the result of progress.

Further and greater progress enables the erection of very tall buildings (utilizing atmospheric space, as to height and capacity, where formerly ground space was the main essential), each one of which buildings

can provide and care for the population of more than a dozen former buildings.

As soon as the excess of production becomes appreciable by the excess of tenements over the needs of population, the decline in rental and reputive value, caused by excess of production or supply, stops or curtails the industry, until population or the needs of population grows somewhat on an equality as to supply and demand.

This creates an increased idleness and a still further depression. To illustrate:

Assume a large structure when fully occupied to possess a rental value of ten thousand dollars; the cost of maintaining its efficiency as to proper care twenty-five hundred dollars; taxes and interest on the cost of land and structure equal to six thousand dollars, or a total of eighty-five hundred dollars.

A surplus of additional large structures finally reaches the condition as to only enable an occupancy to these structures of three-fourths, or a loss of twenty-five per cent. When the conditions, as to supply and demand, attain these relative proportions, competition as between the different interests, to secure a fuller revenue, becomes so harsh as to reduce the rental value also twenty per cent.

The revenue under such conditions, as to the large structures just mentioned, would then fall from ten thousand dollars to fifty-five hundred dollars; while the charges for care, taxes and interest, might still remain eighty-five hundred dollars, or equal to a loss of three thousand dollars.

Such conditions would create still further depressions, disturbing all reputive values.

The reduction in rentals or revenues, that such conditions would cause, does not and cannot increase population, but rather by displacing industry lessens the ability as to the needs of the existing population.

Reverting again to the condition mentioned as the result where a progress in the art of shoemaking displaced the industry of the whole, three and one-third per cent. or thirty-three out of the total population of one thousand.

Were the ethics natural ethics, taxation being exacted from net profits only, never from loss, a tax (besides enabling all the police functions as under present ethics) sufficient to maintain the displaced industry, by employing the same at the full value of the service, would equal three and two-fifth cents each day to each of the nine hundred and sixty-seven employed subjects, or in that proportion, according to the final net profits of each individual subject, and would free the whole community from caring for, providing for, and sustaining them in idleness.

This three and two-fifth cents would be paid over to the displaced industry in the form of wages, taking them from idleness and enabling their industry.

From these wages they would be enabled to supply their own uses, need and desires, employing and increasing the other industries to the full extent of the tax imposed.

By this means all of the said three and two-fifth cents would finally, through the natural course of a reciprocal exchange, flow into the possession and be fully returned to the subjects from which it had been exacted.

Thus would natural ethics maintain the industry of the whole, securing peace, security, values, prosperity, possessions, and a sufficiency for all; conforming the ethics of man in consonance with the progress and requirements of a bounteous nature.

MAN AND NATURE.

Diffusion of Wealth.

MAN AND NATURE.

I.

THE DUTY OF SOCIETY.

The difference of the degrees in which the individuals of a great community enjoy the good things of life has been a theme of declamation and discontent in all ages; and it is doubtless the paramount duty in every state of society to alleviate the pressure of the purely evil part of this distribution; and by all the means that we can devise, secure the intermediate and the lower links of society from dragging in want, distress and wretchedness.

In comparing society, however, on its present immense scale, with its infant or less civilized state, we must at least take great care to enlarge every feature that it has developed in the same proportion.

There must exist in every earthly society a supreme power; without this supreme power there can be no society; without society there can be no security; without security there can be no wealth. This supreme power we call government.

"Government, therefore, is originally and always in the people, and the people never did nor ever can renunciate this right."

The first principle and great end of all just gov-

ernment, springing from the necessities of man's nature, should be to provide for the best good of all the people, and to the possible progress of mankind toward a higher life and a consequent reign of equality, peace and justice.

This higher life need not necessarily be Utopian in its conception, neither need it lead to the anticipation of a millenium; but its progress should be maintained with the growth and the progress of humankind, and conform to the conditions of an acknowledged advanced civilization.

With this conclusion in view, it may be said, that the essence or function of a just system of government, or supreme power, in conjunction with its police system, should be the perfection of that science which treats of the nature of wealth, the production of wealth, the protection of wealth, and the diffusion of wealth, which would secure the physical or material, as well as the intellectual and the moral welfare of mankind, so far as it can be the work of government or society.

The difficulties underlying the different systems of government now controlling the so-called civilized world, and their non-acceptance of the principles called for in this conception of the duties and requirements of progressive government, are, that they are based upon a code of ethics founded upon the conditions of society belonging to its earlier and infant development.

Human sagacity, stimulated by human wants,

seizes first on the nearest natural assistant; therefore when society, merging as from childhood to a larger growth, sought for the measures to enable it to cope with the requirements of its then civilization, it inclined to and seized upon the first natural assistant that presented itself.

Had mankind remained in a condition of primeval simplicity, the earlier conceptions of the justice and duties of government might have been efficient for its purposes.

But human life or mankind grew, and it is to the fact that government did not keep pace and grow with human life, that history records its annals of annihilation, persecution, bloodshed and strife, which more than tarnishes the otherwise memorable record of its honorable and just actions.

Had the growth of mechanical inventions, general education and civilization merely kept pace with the advancement of general government, we would, as yet, be as dense as the civilization of the middle ages.

But human life, guided by induction or experience, advantaged by the growth of mechanical superiority and general education, has grown equal to all natural progressions; while governments fail to maintain the standard equal to these advanced human requirements.

All laws should flow from that of nature; and where that is not the foundation they may be legally imposed, but fail to realize the benefits sought for.

Nature, the full conception of a complete perfection, constantly develops to the mind of man a fuller, brighter and a more harmonious whole.

A code of ethics, not in consonance with this natural progression, founded upon a lower standard of morality, a baser civilization, must carry in its train an uncertain equity, and an unequal justice.

This code of ethics, the vices and defects of which, impressed by time and custom, upon the body politic of the so-called civilized nations, has become not only inveterate, but so closely interwoven with powerful personal interests, that more than ordinary necessity must exist in order to modify, impair or stay its further continuance.

This necessity almost constantly exists, and though humankind has steadily moved onward and upward toward a higher knowledge, government seldom concedes and enables their enjoyment of a better and a truer life, except when it is obtained through the throes of revolution.

Happy the nation which is spared, by its wisdom or good fortune, the cruel trial of only obtaining such reforms as are meet them, and they need, when they have been reduced to prosecute them through outrageous revolution: may the wisdom and good fortune of this people profit by past harsh experiences.

A new doctrine which would purify and reverse these harsh conditions, a new code of ethics which would open up to human life the hopes of a betterment of all human conditions, and the realizing of a

higher civilization, to justify and be in accord with the natural progression, and the greater general knowledge, must be the measure adopted to reach the result.

New opinions or doctrines are always suspected and usually opposed, without any special reason, except that they are not already common. The imputation of novelty is always a capital charge among those who judge of men's heads, as they do of their clothes, by the fashion, and allow none to be right but the received doctrines.

How can an intelligent and just conclusion be determined when the received doctrines are so conflicting and contradictory, that none but those whose bigotry, ignorance, indifference or selfishness binds them to their own issue, can discern aught but falsehood or false promise from these received doctrines?

How can a necessary, an urgent relief be hoped for, when the execution of either, or any, of these received doctrines leads to a condition of want and distress? A halt to such false doctrines or reasonings.

It is to truth, as exemplified by a new doctrine, that all must finally abide; for truth, like gold, is not the less so for being newly brought out of the mine; trial and examination will prove its merit, and not any old fashion; and though it be not yet current by the public acceptance, yet for all that it may be as old as nature, and is certainly not the less genuine.

Under the existing code of political ethics, the principal object of government is largely police in its system and effects; this demonstrates a low standard as its base, and plainly evidences its antiquity, inequity and lack of progress.

To further its functions and maintain its existence, it abides by, as its system of taxation, those methods or expedients, which in addition to securing its necessary revenue, enables it by its favoritisms and class distinctions, in result, to secure such rich and powerful support as to maintain its own political supremacy.

The function of government, to keep step with the natural progress, must be broader than police; it must care for the welfare of the whole, not only of the powerful few; it must maintain the physical, the material welfare of mankind, as we'l as the moral welfare; with the physical welfare maintained, the moral will keep pace with the growth of civilization, with nature's progress toward a completed perfection. Otherwise the end and aim of just government fails, and supreme power will determine itself retrogressively again into individual power.

Individual man, fearful by anticipation of the dreads of possible coming wants, displays a nature which is selfish, secretive and accretive, with an obstinate and a continuous tendency, toward a greater centralization; but collective man, or supreme power, guided by cumulative wisdom and a complete knowledge of the conditions of production, and the require-

ments of the society governed by them, need have no such dreads, and no possible purpose in being either secretive or accretive; and justifying the wisdom that a beneficent nature provided for, by enabling, guiding and equalizing, a necessary diffusion of the united production, grow largely toward the perfection of that science which would secure the welfare of collective mankind, both physical and moral, so far as it can be the work of government, without impairing the natural status of individual man toward securing the full meet of all his just ambitions and emulations.

All laws, both physical or moral, to be just and permanently effective, must flow from nature; producing effects in consonance with man's natural requirements, maintaining nature's progress; and must intervene between individual and collective man, and prevent them from coming into actual conflict.

The prosperity of a nation cannot be measured from statistical data, no matter how complete or truthful; it may determine total wealth, but not necessarily prosperity.

Prosperity can only lie where the wealth of a nation is justly diffused. Where wealth is concentrated in the hands of the comparative few, it means poverty and want to the great many; under our present code of political ethics, all wealths tend to a still greater centralization; it becomes the life and aim of individual man irrespective as to the result on the general whole.

Wealth without diffusion, wealth insured toward centralization, becomes a greater bane to general mankind than existed under the primeval conditions of man, when inured to his surroundings he could maintain his wants and his existence by the means nature placed within his reach.

What a sad commentary on that human wisdom which holds, as its collective form of maintaining equity, a code of ethics which so subverts natural laws, in this age of great natural and material progress, as to create conditions harsher to general mankind than was accorded man in the earlier stages of man's development.

Wealth or capital can be most fully expressed by the term things; it does not consist in the abundance of gold and silver only, but in the possession of all those things which go toward the conveniences, necessaries and enjoyments of human life; it possesses no self-contained power of augmentation, but constantly lessens, through its necessary connections with man's uses, needs and desires; its conditions of usefulness can in some wise be bettered by applying skilled labor to its further development, but in quantity it would constantly decrease.

This completely refutes the oft-repeated chimera that wealth inherently produces increased and new wealths. Additional or new wealths have but one possible source or fountain of supply; it must be sought for in and on the earth, and by labor's effort.

This is nature's requirement. If humankind pro-

duced but sufficient for its needs and luxuries, there could be no increased wealths, and taxation to enable government function would have to be exacted from existing possessions, which would constantly diminish the total; but the fact that possessions or wealth constantly augments, forces the conviction that a constant excess over needs and luxuries are being produced.

These excesses should only and always be the effects taxable, and these excesses are the production of collective man; therefore, through these excesses, it should be government's duty to effect a necessary diffusion, which would maintain the physical and material welfare of the whole.

This would fully exemplify natural taxation; from nature it flowed, and through the wisdom of collective man, by supreme power, it should be justly diffused.

Let us assume an hypothesis. A hundred men take habitation in a walled city; each possesses a wealth or possessions of the value of fifty thousand dollars, which together consists of all those things which are necessary to the needs, desires, luxuries, and physical cares of humankind; they can supply one another with all their reciprocal wants; at the expiration of twelve months will their possessions or wealths have increased? Or will it not be a foregone consent that to the extent of their needs the collective wealth had decreased; through cunning or underhanded justice, some might conspire to appropriate much of the

wealth or possessions of the others, but the collective wealth will have decreased.

Does this refute the oft-repeated and long sustained chimera, that wealth or possessions has an inherent worth?

Reverse the hypothesis. A hundred men with naught but their natural abilities, placed in a land bounteous by nature: some till the soil, some seek nature's growth, or fish, or hunt, for the necessaries to sustain all, pending nature's development; some clear the woods, build fences, permanent habitations, etc. At the expiration of twelve months will it not be a foregone consent, that their collective wealth had increased?

Does this refute the oft-repeated and long sustained chimera, that labor cannot fructify and contain itself without the adjunct and support of pre-existing wealth or possessions?

All philosophical reasoning tends to the same conclusion: that as wealth cannot or does not lessen or decrease by diffusion, no matter whether expended in a further development of the industries (which industries may be developing or increasing, as many are, faster than humankind's purchasing or reciprocal exchange ability to maintain), or by government maintenance of all those educational or luxuriant measures which would tend to grow mankind toward a higher physical as well as moral perfection, it becomes the paramount duty of a just government function to perfect and maintain such diffusion.

As individual man's profits or benefits cannot grow, be maintained, and held secure without the government function and the people's conjointure, as heretofore exemplified, and as no just diffusion can ever be hoped for, if left to individual man's efforts; or secured or maintained through government, by either a multiform or single taxation, which was not graded in accordance with the net profits realized by individual man; to enforce and obtain an equitable as well as a necessary diffusion of the natural bounties, which must be, and can only be effected through a natural system of taxation—the rate of the tax should be graded to conform to the different and respective results of the net profits or gains realized. (See the natural tax, and the exposition of the individual ethics.)

II.

MAN AND NATURE.

Man, who is the servant and interpreter of nature, can act and understand no further than he has, either in operation or in contemplation, observed of the method and order of nature.

This being the case, whence arises the vagueness and sterility in all the physical systems which have hitherto existed in the world?

It is not certainly from anything in nature itself, for the steadiness and regularity of the laws by which it is governed clearly mark them out as objects of certain and precise knowledge.

Neither can it arise from any want of ability in those who have pursued such inquiries, many of whom have been men of the highest talent and genius of the ages in which they lived. It can therefore arise from nothing else but the perverseness and insufficiency of the methods that have been pursued.

Men have sought to make a world from their own conceptions, and to draw from their own minds all the material which they employed.

If, instead of doing so, they had consulted experience and observation, they would have had facts and

not opinions to reason about; and might have ultimately arrived at the knowledge of the laws which govern the material world.

As things areat present conducted, a sudden transition is made from sensible objects and particular facts to general propositions, which are accounted principles; and around which, as around so many fixed poles, disputation and argument continually revolve.

From the propositions thus hastily assumed all things are derived by a process compendious and precipate, ill-suited to discovery, but wonderfully accommodated to debate.

The way that promises success is the reverse of this. It requires that we should generalize slowly, going from particular things to those which are but one step more general; from those to others of still greater extent, and so on to such as are universal.

By such means we may hope to arrive at principles, not vague and obscure, but luminous and well defined, such as nature herself will not refuse to acknowledge.

As once before expressed, such as enter into society must in some degree diminish their liberty. Reason leads them to this.

No one man or family is able to provide that which is requisite for their convenience or security, while every one has an equal right to everything; and none acknowledge a superior to determine the controversies that upon such occasions must continually arise; and will probably be so many, and so great, that mankind cannot bear them.

There is nothing absurd in saying that man cannot continue in the perpetual and entire fruition of the liberty that creation had given him. The liberty of one is threatened by that of another, and while they are all equal, none will yield to any, except by a general consent.

This remains to us while we form governments, that we ourselves are judges how far it is good for us to recede from our natural liberty.

This is of so great importance, that from thence only can we know whether we are freemen or slaves; and the difference between the best government and the worst doth wholly depend on a right or wrong exercise of that power.

If men are naturally free, such as have wisdom and understanding will always try to frame good government; but if they are born under the necessity of a perpetual slavery, or a despotism, or an ignorance, no wisdom can be of use to them.

Upon the same grounds it may be assumed that no privilege is peculiarly annexed to any form of government; but that all governments are equally the ministers of the people, who perform the work for which they are instituted; and that the people which institute them may proportion, regulate and terminate their function, as to time, measure and method, as seems most convenient to themselves, which can be no other than their own good.

This shows the work of all government to be always and everywhere the same; even the doing of

justice, and procuring the welfare of those that create them.

Men's opinions and conclusions are too largely the result of education.

Education is nothing else but the authority of our parents or teachers taken over our childhood.

Now, there is nothing which ought to be of less force with us, or which we ought more to suspect; for childhood hath one thing natural to it, which is a great enemy to truth and a great furtherer of deceit, and that is credulity.

Nothing is more credulous than a child; and our daily experience shows how strangely they will believe either their elders or one another, in most incredible reports; for to be able to judge what persons or reports are credible is a point of strength of which childhood is not capable.

"The chiefest sinew and strength of wisdom" is not easily to believe; have we not then great cause to call to better account and examine by better reason whatsoever we learned in so credulous and easy an age; so apt like the softest wax to receive every impression.

Yet, notwithstanding this singular weakness, it can be taken as a firm fact, that if the best and strongest ground of most men's opinions were opened it would appear to be nothing else.

Antiquity! what is it else but man's authority, born some ages before us. Now for the truth of things time makes no alteration; things are still the same they

are, let the time be past, present or future; those things which we reverence for their antiquity—what were they at their first birth? Were they false? time cannot make them true. Where they true? time cannot make them more true.

Universality is such a proof of truth as truth itself is ashamed of; for universality is nothing more than a trimmer name to signify the multitude. Now human authority at the strongest is but weak; but the multitude is the weakest part of human authority; it is the great patron of error, most easily abused, and most hardly disabused.

The beginning of civilization was the discovery of some art, or arts, by which men acquired property, comforts, luxuries. The necessity or desire of preserving them led them to laws and social institutions.

Therefore, in reality, the origin as well as the progress and improvements of civil society is founded in mechanical and chemical invention.

To doubt that this was not in full harmony with nature's purpose would be an impugnment of the justice and equity of nature itself.

Acting through the phenomena of the human mind, it constantly develops a surer, brighter and a better life for man to enjoy, by enabling a fuller and a greater plenty of all its conceivable attributes. Yet nature does not divulge these attributes except through man's co-operation.

This confirms the conclusion, that nature's purpose, though prolific in its dispensation, encouraging

man to all its benefits, demands his industry as the price of his comforts.

Need man require a more natural proof as to the equity of a reciprocal exchange when applied to the necessities of man's uses, needs and desires?

It must be accepted, that industry is fitted to the condition and frame of our nature; all the faculties of our being, and organs of our body, being adapted in a congruity and tendency thereto.

Our hands are suited for work, our feet for travel, our reason to contrive ways to employ the other parts and powers; all these are framed for action, not in a loose or remiss degree, but in regard to determinate ends, with vigor requisite to attain them; and especially our appetites to prompt us to industry, as inclinable to things not obtainable without it.

To maintain a healthy and a just nature, there must be a demand for the industry of the whole; there must be a reciprocal exchange.

The most perfect society is one where the largest number of persons are prosperously employed in the greatest variety of ways.

In such a society men help each other, instead of standing in each other's way. The further this division of labor is carried, the more persons must unite harmoniously to effect the common end.

The larger the number on which each depends, the larger the number to which each is useful; there must be a reciprocal exchange.

This cannot be effected in a condition of society

where the ethics are such that the progress made in the arts and sciences so distorts the natural conditions as to enable a manifold production over ability of wants, displacing, not employing industry—preventing a reciprocal exchange.

Industry is the only natural, sure way to wealth and prosperity. This is so true that it is impossible an industrious free people should want the necessaries and comforts of life, or an idle people enjoy them under any conditions.

Money is so far, and only so far, useful to the public as it promoteth industry; and credit or bills of exchange having the same effect is of the same value with money.

But money or credit circulating through a people from hand to hand, without producing labor and industry among the people, is simply gambling.

The more methods there are in a community for acquiring riches without labor or industry, the less there will be of either in that state; this is as evident as the ruin which attends it; there must be a reciprocal exchange.

When money is shifted from hand to hand in such a blind, fortuitous manner, that some men shall from nothing acquire immediate fortunes without the least desert—while others are as suddenly stripped of all—what can be hoped for on the one hand but abandoned luxury and wickedness, on the other extreme madness and despair.

Could such conditions be possible under natural ethics?

All projects for growing rich by sudden and extraordinary methods, as they operate violently on the passions of men, and encourage them to despise the slow, moderate gains that are to be made by an honest industry, must be ruinous to the public, and even the winners themselves will at length be involved in the public ruin.

Maintaining present ethics, the conditions must finally result in so great a displacement of labor and industry as to seriously disturb all values, and finally all security.

Of what avail will productiveness of the soil or of the industries be, or of the title, or rental of tenements, if a considerable part of the labor or the industry of the community were idle? and ability would not lie to enable a reciprocal exchange.

All values and revenues would constantly depreciate, and no change could be permanently hoped for until a new system of natural ethics should supplant existing ethics, enabling the full employment and development of the labor or industry of the community.

Idleness, even if compulsory, leads to loss of ambition; loss of ambition to loss of self respect; finally to a vicious discontent. An idle and vicious discontent carries many dangers in its train, and is greatly inimical to values and security.

A discontent and a hunger, based upon the knowledge that would reason, that by unjust ethics, an immoral governmental system, a bounteous nature was distorted so as to create a suffering humanity—

'To pamper luxury, and thin mankind,'

would be a dangerous foe for any society to contend with.

Non-contemplative, selfish man, contented with his own sufficiency, garnered under the inequity of unjust ethics, hears not, sees not, the gathering of the inevitable storm.

He stakes all faith on the security and physical power of existing government to maintain present conditions.

Rude awakening from fancied security to that of riot and confusion, and the loss of accumulated possessions, would but exemplify the experience of continuous history.

A constant dread, as to insecurity to life and prosperity, is even more to be feared than accepted poverty.

To realize a condition of full security and continuous peace, or the sum of human happiness, the ethics must be just, and thereby ensure the industry of the whole.

Just ethics must be natural ethics, flowing from and through the laws of nature, helping to diffuse the good things a bounteous nature provided.

Progress in the arts and sciences through the natural bounties, enables too great and quick a production of the uses, needs and luxuries of mankind, to allow the industry of the whole. Yet the arts and the sciences themselves are of the natural bounties.

To employ the industry of the whole to a still

further production of an already superabundance, in the effort to effect and induce a reciprocal exchange, would not alleviate, but rather intensify existing harshness. This would apply with equal force were this increased production effected through individual or governmental direct action.

The industry of the whole, to keep pace with the natural progress, utilizing and enjoying the full benefits of all productions, can only be maintained uniformly and continuously by diverting all industry displaced by the individual industries, through the progress made in the arts and sciences, into those channels and purposes that would belong to, and be a benefit to the whole, and that could not be brought into conflict or competition with any of the individual enterprises; but would rather be a sustenance, support and encouragement to further progress in the same, by enabling a reciprocal exchange of all the uses, needs and luxuries of mankind.

Maintaining and building public roads, parks, gardens, libraries, colleges, hospitals, stone docks into all harbors, etc., would be encouraging to further progress, enable the industry of the whole, protect the physical welfare of the community by effecting a necessary diffusion of the goods of nature, maintain values and securities, and in nowise retard a just individual ambition.

Were individual man so predisposed as to prefer unlimited wealth or possessions, at the expense of the pleasures, benefits and enjoyments of life, the

adoption of the ethic of a single graduated net profit tax would not preclude the accomplishment of his wish.

As no tax would then lie on once taxed possessions, but only on gains or new possessions, once taxed possessions could be hoarded, if desired, preventing too large gains from being attained; then would be appropriate the poet's contempt:

"Officious fool! that needs must meddling be
In business that concerns not thee;
For when to future years thou extend'st thy cares,
Thou deal'st in other men's affairs."

The proposition that such an ethic would stop all enterprise is purely the expression of unthinking minds. Industry of the whole of necessity implies constant enterprise, while constant enterprise would naturally encourage a continuous progression.

It might retard the growth of multi-millionaires, but as this growth is neither essential nor necessary to the happiness of mankind, and as such wealths can never be the fruits of an honest industry, the stunting of such a growth would be a natural blessing.

It is plainly evident that individual man cannot secure the accumulations of large possessions, except by, with, and through his connections with collective man.

Without collective man, things would have but little reputive value, and no incentive would lie toward securing large possessions; neither would individual ambitions or emulations be of any pur-

pose; man would content himself with the possession of bare necessities.

Values, as connected with possessions, are always and only created as the result of collective man's industry, and can only be maintained by or through the continuance of collective man's industry; let that industry be secured, howsoever it will, either through individual or collective man's purposes—government being the synonym of collective man.

A healthy or normal condition can never be realized or secured until all industry displaced by the progress in the arts and sciences is diverted into and employed in channels which cannot conflict with the individual industry; but will, nevertheless, utilize and enable the consumption of its productions, thereby warranting production and giving it reciprocal exchange value.

Until this is secured by a natural and final sequence, the greater the progress in the arts and sciences, the larger would be the ability to production, the lower the value, and the still lower the consumptive ability of the general people.

For man is not content to part with any of his possessions, no matter how valueless or plentiful, without a reciprocal exchange.

Let individual man, who is fearful of impairing his possessions, give full interest to all these propositions.

Through the constant progression in the arts and sciences, the displacement of industry must finally

reach that condition in which the wages of those employed will reach its minimum of ability; industries in large measure be thereby curtailed, still further increasing the unemployed. Capital or money lose its ability to earn or be of use (except for purposes of factitious or fictitious speculation, or to use a more truthful expression—gambling), it would therefore centralize, gather and lie idle in its hoarded vaults; no field of occupation being open that would warrant its utilization. All enterprise would fail of profit.

Of what purpose would be the possession of tenements if the value or rental, through overproduction or lack of ability to pay rent through non-employment of the tenant, becomes so decreased as to hardly care for present taxation.

Of what avail bonds or stocks if the earnings of the property they represented, through much the same causes, were barely sufficient, if at all, to maintain their expenses and preservation.

Of what use investments in the industries, or land productions, when the factors which insured their prosperity ceased to be factors, through inability of reciprocal exchange.

Would it not be wiser to maintain values as well as securities, also the harmony and welfare of society, by conforming to the changed requirements called for by the natural progress, and enable a system which would provide for the industry of the whole.

Has it never occurred to thinking man, that tax-

ation as now governed, in times of depression, such as the whole industrial world now suffers from, taxes the loss as well as the profit—and that taxing the loss can finally lead to confiscation?

Should not reason instruct us never to tax anything but the net profit, and by grading the tax on the net profits maintain the peace and security of society; thereby enabling the industry of the whole, by which possessions would be augmented, values maintained and preserved.

Under the ethic and economy of a single graduated net profit tax, the net income and final possessions would continually grow larger, no matter how great the net profit or the net tax would be, and the final possessions need never be taxed again. This would retain beyond cavil, in individual man, the stimulus essential to man's ambitions and emulations.

Are not many of these propositions worthy of serious reflection and consideration; and are they not in part all mankind's experiences?

How otherwise can incomes or possessions be maintained, with conditions such as now exist? Would it not make mankind better and happier to accept of the philosopher's sentiment—

"Give me neither riches, nor poverty."

And not to look or hope for unlimited possessions, which might result in the individual sacrifice as well as the final sacrifice of society.

Mankind, in his individuality, cannot enable the industry of the whole; he is governed absolutely by selfish considerations, local conditions and circumstances; and the fact that the ability as to the total production is already in excess of the ability to a reciprocal disposition.

Do not be deceived by the cuckoo cry, which either the ignorant or selfish interested continually resort to in times of great depression: "Lack of confidence," as explaining cause; it is hardly worthy the credulity of a child.

Lack of confidence can only refer to credit, and the giving or taking of credit always implies an abnormal and unhealthy condition. The giving or taking of credit at all times, in a commercial world, means speculation or gambling. It would never apply to any conditions in which the industry of the whole was employed, for then a necessary reciprocal relation, as to their exchange of commodities, would constantly exist.

The giving and taking of credit is always based upon an anticipatory success or prosperity. Where industry is not employed credit becomes impaired, on account of the impossibility of meeting its obligations at maturity. Lack of confidence is simply that fact, the impairment of credit; and carries with it its refusal to further extend a credit which cannot maintain its past obligations.

Neither do social and industrial depressions arise from the rate of wages or the hours of labor of the

employed, which in a natural condition of society would always equitably adjust themselves.

Both are positively controlled and governed by the relative relation that the number that are employed bears as to the number of the idle or unemployed.

Were the industry of the whole employed, the rate of wages, and the hours of labor would of necessity be in harmony of interest between employer and employed; and relatively as these conditions diverge, they increase or decrease in compliance with the necessity or urgency of either party to enable its own wants.

III.

DIFFUSION OF WEALTH.

The bare thought of governmental interference with the affairs of individual man has always been repugnant to the general mind.

Governmental interference in the individual industries would be an uncalled-for infringement of the rights and ambitions of individual man. Government should sustain the emulations necessary to the complete development and perfection of civilization.

A necessary governmental diffusion of the surplus production to maintain the physical, as well as the moral welfare, of collective man, would in nowise proscribe individual man's just rights.

This evidences the conclusion, that human ambitions and emulations is nature's greatest boon and society's safeguard.

But individual man is also part of collective man, and must concede and submit to collective man's natural rights, for there can be no proscription old enough to supersede the law of nature, which has given to all men the right to enjoy its manifold blessings.

Equalizing a diffusion, a necessary diffusion of the surplus possessions, through the medium of collective

man, cannot and would not interfere with the ambitions of individual man.

A justly enacted single graded net profit tax, having already enabled a full livelihood, would not interfere with individual man's just interests. This is evidenced by the fact that the cumulative wealth of collective man is constantly augmenting. Therefore, on this augmentation only the tax should be based. This tax should produce a revenue far in excess of governmental needs for police supervision.

The tax on this excess, or augmentation, if justly appraised, would be sufficient to maintain a necessary diffusion.

The proceeds from this tax, after enabling the ordinary or police function of government, should be expended by and for collective man; not in pursuing any interest that can be or should be left to individual man; not by forcing industry into any particular channels; not in interfering with the rules and laws of commercial intercourse; not in the direct prosecution of any branches of the individual industry, which should in all cases be left to individual man's purposes.

But in developing up a higher and a better life to humankind. In opening up and maintaining free colleges for the higher grades of education, open to all, not the chosen few. In establishing and maintaining public roads, public parks, libraries, hospitals, botanical, horticultural, zoological gardens, stone docks to all harbors, academies of design, pub-

lic buildings of magnificent grandeur and design, commemorative statues—in all manners which would realize a good to the whole.

This would in nowise interfere or restrain individual man's purpose; but would enable a just, a necessary diffusion of the cumulative surplus.

To carry out all these beneficent purposes, employing the full measure of their requirements, would constantly call for great requisitions on the industry of the whole; the greater the surplus, the greater the requ isitions.

These great governmental requisitions would largely enhance the value of labor, and by such means alone help to maintain a just and equitable wage to all.

Economy, which, in some supercautious and unthinking minds, seems to express a necessity therefor, in both individual and governmental purposes, can be more destructive to prosperity than spendthrift; for, utilizing all the benefits of a bounteous nature without waste, diffuses the good that nature provided, without in anywise lessening the collective accumulation.

To produce a state of things in which the physical advantages of civilized life can exist in a high degree, the stimulus of increasing comfort and constantly elevated desires must be felt by millions; for it is not in the power of a few individuals to create that wide demand for ingenious and useful applications which alone can lead to great and rapid improve-

ments, unless backed by that arising from the speedy diffusion of the same advantages among the mass of mankind.

Panics or industrial depressions or disturbances are not novel to the growth of civilization; and unless a new code of ethics be secured, based upon the natural requirements, will continue to occur, growing more severe and disturbing at each recurrence until absolutely crushed by the lack of new material to feed on.

All speculative productions in excess of present possible needs, produce conditions, artificially resembling actual prosperity.

Needs consequent and necessary to the formulation and production of improvements in the arts and sciences, create demands and new needs, which, for the time being, stimulates, permeates and enervates all industries.

Opening up undeveloped countries, building new railroads, with their consequent necessities in advance of actual requirements, so stimulates and permeates the whole industrial community as to confirm a belief that it is actual prosperity.

Actual prosperity only exists when all the people are employed in such a manner as naturally to create reciprocal wants and dependencies, so as to make their several interests lead them to supply one another with their reciprocal wants; not in anticipatory or artificial needs.

These panics or depressions are caused by, and are

largely the result of, the constant progress made in the arts and sciences.

Under our existing code of ethics, as expressed through present governmental systems, all evidence demonstrates that progress in the arts and sciences tends toward compression as to ability to provide for wants, not expansion; the final result being expansion or cheapening of production; compression or lessening the purchasing or reciprocal ability as to the desires of mankind to utilize such cheapened productions. Hence panics or depressions.

Temporarily, and while these progressions are in the throe of birth, and unto the full development of their power and purpose, the impress of the progress appears as a growing benefit to collective man; but finally, under the present system of political ethics, the result will always be reversive.

The conditions here cited in seeking natural readjustment, when they have attained a full completion, are the causes which lead to our periodical depressions and panics.

These panics are oftentimes bridged over, and lost sight of, by the undertaking of further new enterprises and developments; but until a permanent and natural method of adjustment is secured, they will constantly reappear, growing harsher at each recurrence.

This constant recurrence of industrial panics and depressions causes the thoughtless, or the selfishly interested mind, to revert to this fact, and claim the

result as due to natural laws; but it is to the want of natural law that this recurring evil is attributable.

Natural laws would adjust and maintain the equilibrium, and forever preclude such depressions and recurrences.

During these continuous and oft-repeated panics, irrespective of losses attributable to the elements, or the natural consumption, there has never been an actual loss of the value of a stalk of wheat.

Possessions may have changed hands or ownership, and may have lost reputive value, consequent to commercial laws; but as wealth consists of things only, these do not diminish but by use.

In this advanced age of progressive science, none but artificial conditions are responsible for these continuous and recurring depressions or panics.

IV.

FALSE ETHICS OR ECONOMICS.

There has never been in the course of these panics a natural paucity of the necessities, uses or desires essential to the needs or comforts of collective man.

Were the ethics such that governmental supervision was coursed through the laws, that should flow through nature's givings, depressions and panics would belong to the past.

In olden times, in lands suffering from droughts or floods, the difficulties, delays, and time lost, caused by the crude methods of transportation, prevented other more favored sections from supplying the wants of the afflicted sections.

The lack of the knowledge of the science of production, in the earlier ages, often [illegible] which encouraged [illegible] nature was [illegible]

Ancie[illegible]

increase of the collective wealth, as proven by statistics, all these panics are the result of a failure to apply natural laws, to sustain a necessary diffusion.

Many minds fully realize the truth that to present false economics, all the evils of the world's social and industrial disturbances are attributable, and that from existing powers or partisanship no method or measure of relief need be hoped for, as their maintenance of power can only be preserved through further deception and false promise.

These conditions are constantly developing many hoped-for specifics, which, though originating in well intended and humane desires, fail of growth and permanency, for the obvious reason that they fail to carry conviction to the general intelligence of the people.

Appealing strongly to passion or class interests, always receives an immediate following; but does not realize lasting benefits, or grow in strength or intensity.

The measure of relief must be based upon a code of ethics that will appeal to the general intelligence as well as to mankind's humanity, and should in effect draw its disciples and strength from men of all classes. This would evidence its justice and ability.

It is a self-evident truth that original title belonged to all, or collective man; that nearly all first possessions or title was obtained by force, fraud and theft.

On the assumption of this truth it is often held that as first title was grounded in tort, all title should

be held invalid, and revert to government for the use of collective man.

Following the same line of reasoning, it is also claimed that all means of transportation, transmission of news, public or private, being public necessities, and useless without collective man's needs and support, should also be owned and controlled by government, for the benefits and uses of collective man.

It is further held, that a consequence of the progress in industrial developments, a true theory of economics would dictate that even the machinery of production should be maintained by government for collective man's use.

Also, that in consequence of present false economics, all progress in the arts and sciences is diverted from what should be its humane and natural object and purpose, to a still further enslavement of humankind.

These and many other kindred thoughts are fast creeping into many minds.

Many of these convictions are most powerful truths; but if the reliefs suggested were as bad as the evil itself, it were well to tax man's wisdom or reasoning further for a relief that would be congenial to man's further progress toward a completed perfection, in harmony with all nature's progress, and not toward a retrogression.

A philosophy that does not assume and concede, that both individual man and the development of

nature has from its earliest conception grown better, brighter and purer, and in accord with that phenomena which governs and controls all universe, is slow and harsh in the conception of a universal truth.

The food we eat, the clothes we wear, the habitations that shelter us, the luxuries we enjoy, the security that insures our protection, the methods of production for our wants, the higher knowledge and culture, the greater education of the people, their greater equality and larger individual liberty, all evidence a constant and continuous advance, in consonance with nature's growth.

Any hypothesis which assumes original nature as its base, drawing its deductions therefrom, ignoring civilization or mankind's growth, is unworthy the term philosophy, or human wisdom or reasoning.

By induction man slowly crept from barbarism toward civilization. Without the incentive to human ambitions and emulations, humankind would undoubtedly retrograde toward his first barbarisms.

The first want and ambition of man, when he succeeds in securing more than his immediate needs call for, is how to maintain and secure the same for future possibilities; this he realizes through the medium of society, the forerunner of government.

This ambition, however, can never be called collective: it is always individual. The moment it is attempted to force ambitions and emulations into collective form, its strength and force will be completely effaced, as no stimulus will lie to encourage its existence.

It is alone due to individual man's ambitions and emulations that all progress in the arts and sciences owe its growth, and not at all to collective man's efforts. Reverse these conditions and the effect or result must be obvious.

The ethics of the earlier civilization could not acknowledge any injustice in the acts and doings based upon their then teachings; they were probably in accord with the then human knowledge.

Individual man grows more rapidly in the general knowledge, and the useful sciences, than collective man; and to this no doubt is largely due the fact, that the ethics of collective man did not keep step to the progress of the sciences.

These ethics, which time and custom has strongly impressed, though not in accord with the general progress, has firm hold on the public mind, and cannot be subverted by any system which will revolutionize existing possessions, and destroy the stimulus toward a greater progression.

A code of ethics just and wise in its inception, which would not disturb individual rights; which would ensure a still greater progress; which would maintain a just and necessary diffusion so as to enable a perfect physical and moral welfare to all; which would appeal to human intelligence and humanity's need, is the code of ethics for mankind's purpose.

Education, example, custom, self, so reflects upon the actions of individual man as to develop a second

nature, which blinds his reasoning power as to the justice or falsity of existing ethics.

The constant progress in the arts and sciences, the growth of nature, fully demonstrated the harshness, the inefficiency and the injustice of present ethics, by producing effects and results that the wildest fancy of earlier mankind could fail to conceive.

Progress in the arts and sciences, by natural sequence, would give a greater good to all, a greater diffusion for all to enjoy; by maintaining an effete code of ethics it diverts the natural sequence into a closer centralization, a denser inhumanity.

V.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF POST OFFICE—THE MORAL.

On the assumption that government control of post office evidences its efficiency, it is often cited, as justifying and calling for government control of all means of transportation, transmission of news, lighting and watering of all municipalities; in fact, of all collective man's requirements, that receives his support.

Will a philosophical inquiry justify this assumption? As regards an effective, an efficient and a true delivery it may be its just due; but the principle underlying its control and management is as full of injustice and inequity, and its corruptive adjuncts, as any that our present code of ethics display.

It is a vast political power, the machinery of which, through its many complications, the corruption fund that can be realized from its many employees, through selfish or other motives, the vast expenditures required to secure the efficiency of its purposes, all of which diverts to gain and maintain party supremacy; the power and fear of dismissal and loss of revenue, that it holds over its employees, often disturbs the true expression of the people's will.

Aught which tends to centralization, whether of

wealth or power, is destructive to progress and the people's liberty.

Further, an inefficiency of revenue to cover cost of efficiency of service must be cared for out of the treasury of collective man; and as each subject should receive according to his due, each should give according to his due.

A subject who receives special service from government should pay for that service the cost of such service; government should not be the factor to attend to the requirements of individual man, either at a profit or at a loss, but should simply interpose, if at all, as an efficient medium.

According to present post office ethics, a subject pays for a minimum service as much as another subject pays for a maximum service; though the cost to the government is either large or small according to the service rendered; and any deficiency of revenue must be paid for by the whole.

Is this an ethic which would teach equity, justice and morality? Should one subject be required to contribute more to the support of government than another for services received, when both received only the exact equivalent of either—in security, in protection, in benefits?

Further, other individual or private matter is transmitted throughout the entire service at a nominal cost per pound, irrespective as to mileage and cost of transfer; but collective man must make good any deficit which might arise.

What a vast display of corruption, under our present code of ethics, can be opened up to the mind of man, by the favoritisms that officials can exercise, either for party aggrandizement or individual profit, by accepting or refusing such matter as could be, or should not be qualified, as belonging to a certain class.

Why should individual man be granted privileges which secures to him a special benefit or profit, but which might entail a loss which collective man would have to indemnify.

It may be claimed that it is a question of morals.

But a question of morals cannot lie as executed by collective man, if individual man would at once repudiate it as repugnant to equity and justice.

It is to the ethics that control government, that individual man should always look for his moral training; but where such ethics instruct immorality early reformation is a sad want.

Accepting the claimed advantages that this most boasted of governmental affairs, the control of post office submits as the criterion for further governmental aggressions, such as control of all transportation, transmission of news, lighting of municipalities, etc., is further philosophy necessary to determine its final inequity and injustice on the whole body politic. It would only tend to a fuller class distinction, not a lessening.

Government or partisanship, under present ethics, in the distribution and diffusion of the powers within

its control, first and always looks to maintaining its own supremacy, to increasing individual wealths from the same when opportunity offers; and these opportunities are being constantly created; and finally to consigning equity to the silent tomb of forgetfulness. Will the intelligent mind desire to enhance such governmental control.

VI.

THE HOURS OF SERVICE.

As truth or justice cannot suffer from truthful inquiry a further divulgence of some suggested reliefs is worthy of notice.

Reductions in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production. Would this avail toward securing a larger labor to supply, enabling a better diffusion for all to enjoy?

Labor should be as free as internal commerce. Restrictions on either would be destructive to progress and individual privilege. Both should be as free as air.

All wealth, all possessions, are but the culminated effort of labor; therefore to restrict individual labor by enactment, as to the privileges of its own disposition, would be equivalent to its restriction as to its rights to possessions.

The hours of labor for all governmental employees, whether direct or indirect under government contract, can and should be regulated by enactment, and enforced under heavy penalties; but should never interfere with individual employment or liberties.

All governmental creation or work, which was not administrative, judicial or clerical, should be con-

tracted for, controlled and managed by individual man under government surveillance only. In all such cases the essence of the contract should be the regulation of the hours of labor or service.

Governmental restrictions of the hours of labor, of all employment under its control or surveillance, direct or indirect, would be both wise and judicious.

Government is collective man, and collective man is not actuated by that stimulus which governs individual man's ambitions and emulations.

Under an equitable and just code of ethics as its political economy, collective man's employ or possessions belong to all, and can in nowise affect a loss or a detriment to any.

False philosophy might assume that this would not be in accord with economy; a much used, abused and poorly understood term; but there is no such word in the use of things or possessions, except as to waste; for all that nature produces, except that part which had been actually consumed, still remains, and is to be accredited to the wealth of civilization. That which remains cannot be charged to extravagance, waste or spendthrift. That which had been consumed, if not actually wasted, was necessary to nature's sustenance and purposes.

With the supervision, dispensation and guidance by government, of the results realized from and through the final surplus production, the effect therefrom, through a regulation of the hours of labor to all employed, through its purposes, would be a con-

stantly growing demand for labor from individual man; which of itself would soon determine a just wage, and a consequent regulation and corresponding adjustment as to the hours of service, throughout all of the individual industries.

VII.

ALIEN TITLE TO LAND.

Restrictions as to alien ownership to land would be a wise and a just judgment. The alien has no interest in the government welfare. He is exclusively controlled by self-interest or profit—all his expenditures and support is given outside of national jurisdiction and possessions. As he cannot be compelled to defend and support government in time of need he should be restricted from holding title, and as the land itself cannot be removed, government cannot suffer an injury or loss.

VIII.

THE REFERENDUM.

The wisest of all wise measures of reformation, and which would hurry and facilitate conditions tending toward the securement and acceptation of a code of ethics founded upon the natural laws, would be the adoption of the system which would submit all public legislation back to the people, for their approval or rejection, and which is commonly expressed as the initiative and referendum.

This would preclude the corruption of the legislator, and realize the surest safeguard to a higher morality.

It is a current saying, "that most all men have their price," and though this might be true as to individual man, its truthfulness cannot be maintained as to collective man; for when collective man consents to, and abides by a wrong, it answers to the justice of the then collective wisdom.

The venality of the legislator has been the main cause of the constant failure of justice; yet as long as individual man is controlled by selfish motives, just so long will the legislator be looked upon as a purchasable commodity. (This statement is not submitted, however, in the collective sense, for there

are many worthy and honorable exceptions to the truthfulness of the rule.)

The referendum or the submission of the initiative or legislative enactment to the approval and consent of collective man, to secure its adoption, will avoid either the purchase or sale of the legislator; as a purchase which does not insure a delivery will lack for a buyer.

It may be claimed that the people's consent and will had been already expressed in their approval and selection of the legislators selected by the people to create all necessary legislation; that this fact, in itself, gave them an indirect voice in the making of all legislation.

That the maxim of the constitution makers, "that all power is derived from the people," and that they were the people, had been fulfilled in their selection.

Plausible maxim! but fallacious. The power as to the selection of the legislator, can in nowise protect or defend the people from unwise or selfishly interested legislation; it can in nowise avoid the venality, or the purchase and sale of the legislator. Although the representatives of the people should be chosen from among the most worthy, from among those able to frame wise and necessary legislation, they might abuse the trust conferred on them; therefore, legislation should never be final or effective until submitted back to the people for their consent and approval.

IX.

THE MONEY EXPOSITION—GOLD, SILVER, PAPER, AND THE MONEYED METALS.

A further strange conceit has crept into the minds of many men, and fostered by specious reasoning holds strong sway.

To such the cause of the harsh social conditions, and the constantly recurring depressions in the individual industries, is due to a scarcity of the quantity of money necessary to enable a quick enough diffusion and exchange of the necessities and commodities of man's requirements.

Money is simply one of those things or commodities which collective man's wisdom concedes as the most efficient means to insure a safe exchange as between their necessary wants.

Whether it be gold, silver or paper, either passes current when known or supposed to represent the equivalent of each other.

From time immemorial, among either national or individual intercourse, the two most needless, or least useful of all the metals, has been held current as the medium of exchange; being practically, on account of the softness of their properties, useless to human needs, except as matter of ornament.

Their reputive worth has always been maintained on the base of their relative and comparative scarcity to the other metals, and their more difficult and greater cost of mining and production.

The stamp of government does not enhance its actual value, but simply means security as to purity, and consent as to acceptance.

In later ages, when national and individual intercourse and relations became more general, paper or bills of exchange came into use, in substitution of either gold or silver, as a less expensive and more convenient mode of exchange; saving cost and danger of transportation.

This paper, however, whether individual or banker's bills of exchange, or current bank bills, carrying the governmental assurance, are supposed or known to represent the possession, or equivalent in value, of a maintained gold or silver deposit, or other reciprocal properties.

That "self-preservation is the first law of nature" is an axiom, whose advent came in with humankind.

In times of great governmental danger or distress, such as foreign invasion or actual war, when ordinary revenue sources are largely curtailed, and their needs greatly augmented, governments often resort to issuing promises to pay without any special collateral on deposit to guarantee final payment.

In such cases, however, all the government possessions and credit are pledged for the redemption.

As private possessions and securities are greatly

jeopardized at such times, most subjects, to ensure and enable their own security and protection, willingly accept in exchange, for any of their acquired possessions, such promises to pay at some future time.

In uniform times of peace they might refuse to acknowledge the same by denying any exchange. Should government, by enactment, compel such acceptance under penalty, it would always result in a seeming scarcity of the products sought for.

Where compulsion supersedes consent, security does not lie; where security does not lie, society as represented by government loses its purpose; and individual ambition and emulation will stop its efforts.

Government or individual (except in times of dire necessity or distress) that would issue paper promises to pay, without possessing an equivalent guarantee or ability of its own as security, to enable the final payment of such promises, must finally determine in chaos or confusion; and the destruction of society's purposes, or of individual bankruptcy.

Even gold or silver, to accomplish their full purposes as mediums of exchange, must or should be maintained on a parity as to their relative value; as to the amount as well as to the cost of total production.

When one ounce of gold and sixteen ounces of silver was accepted and agreed upon between certain nations, as the parity of their relative value to each

other (according to the then exposed quantity in sight and in use), their condition as to total amount already produced, as to total amount being produced, and as to comparative cost of production, was agreed upon as equal to a parity of one ounce of gold to sixteen ounces of silver.

As individual man as well as collective man, of which government is but the synonym, suffers from any debasement of value of either of the moneyed metals, which debasement creates and causes any disparity as to their exchange value, it were wisdom for government to maintain an honest parity, even if losses occasioned thereby were affixed to the government expenditures.

If gold were maintained as the base or unit to compute value from, no danger or loss could possibly result, either to the government or to the individual, as the parity as to the exchange value of the baser metal cannot be increased; unless the gold production should rapidly increase in development; either through greater discovery of gold than silver mines; through the sciences developing a means of artificial or synthetical production; an increased demand for silver through an increase of commercial requirements, or a failure of the silver mines to produce a sufficiency.

It may no doubt be claimed that should any of the conditions cited above at any time occur, which would, however, be very improbable, men would refuse an exchange of their coined metal, for an interchange

of commodities, but would remelt the same and dispose of it at a profit as refined metal in the open market. This need in nowise affect collective man, for the power of the government to refuse any new coinage, except on the condition that government itself would stipulate, would defeat the purposes to be gained by the melting of the then existing coin; the market for manufacturing purposes of either gold or silver being comparatively restrictive as to quantity.

It would be wisdom in government, and under a system of natural ethics it would be ready of application; for government to carry in its vaults all of the moneyed metals in bulk or bar, issuing therefor its paper receipt expressing its moneyed value; redeemable, if desired, at stated times, by the weight of the moneyed metals, that the government itself determines as the truthful parity at the time of redemption; and in and by the *pro rata* proportions of the two moneyed metals, based upon the conceded and consented parity.

This would ensure and protect collective man from the machinations and intrigues of cabals and cliques, who constantly, when a plea of a lack of parity can be maintained, or a condition created whereby an increased reputive value can be placed on the scarcer metal, distort and disturb all other relative values by their clamor.

Gold being the conceded and consented base from which the exchange value of all of the commodities

is computed, neither can nor does appreciate or depreciate in either actual or reputive value.

It might so occur that in order to purchase a barrel of flour, the price demanded for the same might be equal in exchange value to an ounce of standard gold; other conditions might arise in which the price demanded for an equal barrel of flour might be equivalent to two ounces of gold; this would not imply that the value of gold had depreciated one hundred per cent. but that the reputive and exchange value of the barrel of flour had appreciated one hundred per cent.

The winning or earning power, or the exchange power of money, increases or decreases as its supply (or its visible supply or sufficiency) increases or decreases with its demand to enable all of the necessary interchanges of the commercial requirements; but its base, as representing a fixed quantity in itself of worth or value, is in nowise affected or changed.

Silver, however, being the secondary metal, is and should be governed, as to worth, exclusively as to the exchange value that it bears to the gold metal, as that is the metal accepted throughout the entire commercial world as the base to compute all exchange value from.

As neither metal has a very appreciable value to the actual uses of humankind (except as for matter of ornament, which is very limited), but is fully appreciable, as applied to the purpose as the accepted, conceded and consented metals, to effect all the

necessary exchanges as between the interchanges of all the commodities and uses, great care must be exercised to maintain an actual consideration, both as to the standard of either metal as to purity, and the honest and relative value that the one metal bears to the other.

An excessive production of gold, or a reduction in the production of silver, would in either case only affect the reputive value of silver, which would appreciate toward the gold value.

While an excessive production of silver would depreciate its reputive value, removing it further from the gold value—and this would be the constant effect and condition as long as gold remained the scarcer and more costly metal to produce: should these conditions ever become reversed, silver would undoubtedly become the primary metal from which all reputive or exchange value would be computed.

And these conclusions will fully justify the correctness of the reasoning that government, or collective man, should become the factor, as to the maintenance of the actual parity, as to the relative value of the two moneyed metals; and that any profits or losses occasioned therefrom should be either debited or credited to the government treasury.

That the moneyed metals should not be coined, but held in bulk, or bar of a standard purity, in the vaults of the treasury; that for all the stored metal, government receipt or money should be issued and current, based upon a represented weight of gold, but always

and only redeemable in an actual parity proportion in and of both the metals, at the time of redemption. To exemplify: A government receipt or issue of the face value of one hundred dollars is offered for redemption.

For the convenience of demonstration, a government issue, representative of twenty-five dollars, United States standard, can be accepted as being the equivalent to one ounce of gold.

At the time of the government issue let it be assumed that silver was equal to a parity value as to the gold metal of sixteen to one—which would make the one hundred dollar issue equal to a representative value of sixty-four ounces of silver.

If, at the time of redemption, silver had appreciated fifty per cent. as to its exchange and parity to gold, or as eight to one, the one hundred dollar issue would be made redeemable in two ounces of gold and sixteen ounces of silver. If the silver parity at the time of redemption had remained at the parity of sixteen to one of gold, the redemption would be at two ounces of gold and thirty-two ounces of silver.

If the silver parity should change as to twenty-four to one of gold, the redemption would be two ounces of gold and forty-eight ounces of silver.

And this system would absolutely ensure the entire utilization of the gold and silver output, without limit as to quantity, maintaining an actual and honest representation as to value; and would control and regulate the working of the mines of the consented

moneyed metals, so as to fully comply with the purposes of the natural requirements—avoiding all forced, unnatural or unrequired conditions.

It is often held that government itself should own and control the gold and silver mines within its dominions. This would be destructive of the purposes sought for. Government should not determine itself into a commercial factor; gold and silver are simply commodities; their softness and comparative scarcity determined man to utilize them as mediums of exchange as between all of the other commodities; their exchange power will increase or decrease relatively, as the supply bears to the demand of the commodities sought in exchange. Government could only make a compulsory value within itself; and a compulsory value, if not a truthful standard, would soon disclose a presumed scarcity of the commodities sought in exchange. All foreign governments or people could refuse acceptance as to a prefixed or compulsory exchange value. This would be but just and proper.

The exchange value of either gold or silver is simply reputive, not real, to the life of man. Should government withhold from gold or silver its coinage or moneyed power, it would greatly lessen its reputive or exchange value.

A paper issue which actually represented a positive deposit or storage, by government, of any of the necessities or desires of life's needs or purposes, would be of greater real value than either gold or silver.

In the interchange of the commodities necessary to life's purposes (as applied to the United States government) one ounce of gold was made equal in exchange power to sixteen ounces of silver. This was based upon the then agreed and accepted knowledge as to the relative proportions and cost as to production of the two metals; gold, the scarcer and more difficult to be procured metal, being made the base or unit.

If the condition should indicate that silver had increased in comparative production so as to bear an almost relative proportion and reputive value as to the gold production and reputive value of twenty-four as to one, it would simply determine that the exchange value of the power of gold had retained its condition; but the parity value of the power of the silver metal (based upon the then acknowledged proportion and reputive value of the two moneyed metals) had decreased fifty per cent.

If, on the contrary, should any of the conditions cited above ever develop, whereby the proportion of gold as to silver should determine as to a relative condition and reputive value of eight ounces of silver to one ounce of gold, it would simply indicate that although the exchange value of the gold power had retained its condition, the exchange value of the silver power will have doubled. This would always be determined by the weight of the metal of a standard parity, demanded or given in an exchange, as between the two moneyed metals.

Should it determine, which is hardly probable, that gold should ever become the baser or more plentiful or less reputive as to value of the metals, as against silver, silver would become the base or unit to compute power of exchange value from.

As long as there are constant fluctuations of value, produced and created by the changes, as to the actual parity and reputive value of the acknowledged moneyed metals, government should carry all the represented moneyed metals on storage; so as to maintain an actual parity as to the exchange value of the same; issuing its paper receipt therefor, representing deposited weight; which would always be equivalent to its moneyed power, having taken the scarcer moneyed metal as the base or unit to compute its value from.

Thus could be maintained an actual parity, and open all the mines, both gold and silver, to a continuous production, by affording, if desired (after supplying the needs of the arts and sciences), a disposition of all the output; the parity or ratio as between the moneyed metals to be appraised by government, always maintaining a truthful parity of the existing moneyed metals held on storage.

This government representation or receipt of the moneyed metals—which should express the parity exchange value as between the two metals at the time of issue—could be called in, if required or desired, as often as a marked increase or decrease of the production of either of the moneyed metals

demanded the same, and destroyed; and new paper receipts or money issued therefor expressing the then consented parity as between the two metals; and all gains or losses, that the maintenance of the parity of the moneyed metals occasioned, be debited or credited to the treasury of the government.

This system would enable a constant utilization of the production of the silver, as well as of the gold mines, as the government, when it established its actual or consented parity of the metals—and this would always be based upon the knowledge, real or acquired, of the relative quantities and reputive value of the metals in use and in sight—could agree to and accept at the time agreed of all that offered itself at the fixed parity; and vault the same, issuing the government receipt in exchange, which would be redeemable in and by the weight of the two metals of an equal value and parity proportion at the time of redemption.

By such means the entire nation would be constantly protected as to the actual and honest represensation of the moneyed metals; and the entire production of the mines of the moneyed metals could be immediately placed, if desired, in constant disposition and use.

It would also avoid an excessive or forced production of the moneyed metals, beyond the needs of humankind (which, were not a parity maintained, or were a false value affixed to the baser metal, would be the constant purpose of the mineholders, so as to

gratify their intense individual selfishness), as a forced production of the metals might lessen their reputive value.

It is the nation's duty to encourage to its fullest extent the production of the moneyed metal mines; and no limit need to be placed as to its moneyed purposes, if the producers or holders so desire it.

All that the government should be called upon to provide for would be the maintenance of the honest parity. This can never be offensive to equity or justice, and would fully dispose of a present evil.

The baser metal will never be accepted as a true exchange, except that the parity of the metals are justly maintained.

The fact that the acceptance of all outstanding government issue could be made absolute as to the payment of all public or private debt, for any period from date of issue (nullifying all specific contracts or stipulations which denied or refused the acceptation of the government issue or receipt), and redeemable at the *pro rata* weights in the two moneyed metals, that the government also determines, as the actual parity at the time of redemption, would preclude the possibility or the necessity as to any individual loss.

It might be claimed that the producers of the gold metal would refuse to sell or surrender their gold to government, taking its moneyed receipt therefor, which could only be redeemed in equal value of the two moneyed metals; but as the

redemption would be in an actual reciprocal exchange value, they could in nowise be injured or suffer therefrom. Besides the government refusal to a further moneyed coinage of either metal destroys its necessity or use, except for matter of ornament, which would be comparatively very limited; further, gold could not be disposed of to other or strange governments or people, except the holders would take in exchange therefor other commodities which would be of use or need to their purposes, and which could no doubt be just as conveniently and economically secured at home; besides, if gold were exchanged for such commodities and brought to this country for disposition, the holder would be compelled to accept the government issue in exchange, therefore they could in nowise profit by foreign disposition of their gold product. Gold, being the base from which the exchange value would be computed, would find immediate and continuous disposition, and could be accepted and receipted for at all times that it offered itself; but silver, although it could be accepted as a deposit at all times, could not be receipted or paid for as a money exchange, except at such stated times when government would consent and establish as to its then parity to gold.

And this would apply with equal force to the producers of silver; if they should deny the transfer of their surplus production to the government, because it would refuse acceptance except at its actual or consented parity exchange as to gold; the govern-

mental refusal to any further coinage would largely destroy its actual as well as its reputive value, and this would be carefully avoided; besides, it would in nowise disturb or destroy the government purpose, but would be greatly inimical to the interests of the mine holders.

For government to develop unlimited coinage as to gold and silver, at the parity of one ounce of gold to sixteen ounces of silver, or any other ratio which did not indicate and secure the truthful parity, would be a gross injustice.

It would be maintaining a pre-existing or continuous rate, irrespective of the actual parity; as the parity diverged on account of an increased production of either of the moneyed metals, there would be or could be a refusal or a presumed scarcity of exchange.

Compulsion in matter of quantity can no more be maintained or justified with the moneyed metals than with the exchanges of any of the other productions necessary to man's requirements.

The power of either gold, silver or paper, as a medium of exchange, is many hundred-fold greater than its fixed quantity; as the moment it places itself in connection with its exchanged product, it at once reverts back into its own channel, to effect a further exchange, and this is constantly occurring and re-occurring.

The production of gold and silver has kept pace with population, and with the accumulations of all other wealth and possessions.

It does not materially lessen by time and use as most all other commodities, uses and luxuries consumed or utilized by humankind do, while the great progress made in the arts and sciences enables a greatly increased and manifold production over that of bygone ages, and fully keeps pace with man's requirements. The substitution and utilization of bills of exchange, or other paper money promises to pay, in place of either gold or silver, which metals, or other equivalent exchangeable commodities, they are actually supposed to represent, is simply that refined expression of man's wisdom, which utilizes the least cumbersome of all his possessions, as to value, space and weight, to enable and facilitate a reciprocal exchange between mankind, of their several necessary commodities.

As between the different sections of a nation, like these United States, with the system of banking or exchange intercourse that exists, as long as there is a sufficiency of the different necessary productions there never could be a scarcity of a medium of exchange to disturb industrial relations; and there never was, except when such a condition was forced, either through the secretion of money, incited by fear, or for purposes of extorting large gains.

A government or an individual who would publish and enforce circulation of a paper money, or a promise to pay, which did not represent a deposit security on some accepted commodity, of full and truthful consideration and value, would soon determine in

effecting a condition of affairs that could best be expressed as confusion worse confounded; for all interchange to accomplish its purpose must be truthful and free from compulsion.

The facts lie that in these United States the industrial and harsh social conditions are in nowise the result of a scarcity of money, or money exchange; for in spite of all excessive productions the bank surplus and deposits have been continually increasing.

It were a wise and just dispensation for government with a bonded indebtedness to take the people's money on deposit, enabling a small interest on the same; issuing government currency in receipt therefor, redeemable at a fixed rate of one per cent. a year. With the money received cancel the government bonds. Whether this were necessary or not it would enable a further circulating currency, without in anywise affecting its security or justice.

It is to the lack of a necessary diffusion of the surplus possessions of collective man's productions, which our false code of ethics enables individual man to centralize, that our harsh social and industrial depressions are due.

A new, a just code of ethics, which would make government or collective man the factor, or the sponsor, to maintain a necessary diffusion, as well as to maintain a just and a true medium of exchange would soften and humanize all present harshness.

The advantages that should be conferred by the augmentation of our physical resources, through the

medium of man's increased knowledge, and the improved arts, would have this peculiar and remarkable property, that they are in their nature diffusive, and cannot be enjoyed in any exclusive manner by a few; therefore it becomes the government's duty to supervise this diffusion, as well as to maintain a true medium of exchange.

This diffusion would secure the physical and material welfare of collective man against the cupidity, caprice and selfishness of individual man; who will always avoid even a necessary diffusion of the surplus production.

This necessary diffusion, conforming to natural laws, can only be effected through government or collective man; tending also to diffusing and equalizing the influence and authority of all.

X.

THE SINGLE LAND TAX.

A natural tax can never be otherwise than a single tax, but cannot be classified.

Classification taxation is never equitable, and may carry in its train a tax on a natural loss, as well as on a profit. To tax a loss will always be an injustice, a crime; while the inequity of any system of taxation which might incur in result a tax on a natural loss, while freeing a natural profit, must fail of efficiency, permanency and justice.

"It is strongly urged, that it were wiser to tax men on what they have than on what they need, and that the true principle would be, not to tax men on what they have, but on what they have that belongs to all; to tax them, not in proportion to what they may have honestly earned or saved, but in proportion to the special advantages which they are suffered to enjoy.

"There is an enormous difference; a difference in kind between what a man gets by his own exertions without any advantage over his fellows." From speech of Hon. T. L. Johnson, M. C., January 30, 1894.

"The single tax upon land values is therefore the

most just and equal of all taxes; it falls only upon those who receive from society a peculiar and valuable benefit; and upon them in proportion to the benefit they receive.

"It is the taking by the community for the use of the community of that value which is the creation of the community. It is the application of the common property to common uses.

"When all rent is taken by taxation for the needs of the community, then will the equality of nature be attained. No citizen will have an advantage over any other citizen save as is given him by his industry, skill and intelligence, and each will obtain what he fairly earns." Henry George, "Progress and Poverty," book 8, ch. 3, subd. 4.

The above selections undoubtedly fully express the complete conception of a single land tax.

Would the adoption and acceptation of such a tax as the natural political economy be consistent with man's intelligence and philosophy? Would it conform with equity and justice and the requirements of the progress made in the arts and sciences? Would it maintain the stimulus essential to individual ambitions and emulations? Referring to the above quoted selections:

To tax men on what they have rather than on what they need, is purely absurd in the proposition. Man must first have possessions or things before it can be taken from him.

A tax might be anticipated on that which he may

possibly need, but he must first possess the things, or the have, to purchase that need.

There is hardly a tax that can be imposed on any special things (except the tax were placed universally on all things that was necessary for man's sustenance) but what man, were he so desired, could avoid the use of any of those special things so taxed.

Tea was considered a necessity or need to the early Americans, but rather than pay what was considered an unjust tax, they deprived themselves of its use and threw the tea into Boston harbor.

Possessions must always exist before taxation can be made effective, and the only question that should lie is one of justice and equity.

The further proposition, not even to tax men on what they have, but on what they have that belongs to all, is a further and a more incongruous inconsistency and injustice.

To compare present man with primeval man, to adjudge existing conditions and society on a plane or level with original or first society, is certainly not in touch with man's reasoning.

Original land may have belonged to all that then existed; but original man had neither the intelligence, nor the want, nor the use, nor the ability, to appropriate it all for his own purposes.

Had original man appropriated all land (the same as the discoverer of a new invention appropriates all its benefits to his own uses, or to his devisees), and had devised the same to his descendants, would the title to all land now be justly vested?

Land only possesses useful value from that which it produces; this value cannot be created without labor; it does not increase in productiveness through population; but through the rulings of commercial laws population may enhance the products therefrom in reputive value.

Through the laws, or phenomena of nature, man's crops, or anticipated production, may be fully destroyed, and the full effects of all his labor effaced; in such a case his tax would fully lie, while growth, or the needs of population, would be of no avail or purpose.

The discoverer of a new invention (which would dispense with the necessity for the employ of many people, displacing them from their means of livelihood) can obtain no results or benefits from his invention, except by and through the uses and assistance of population or collective man; and yet no matter what gains he might secure or realize as a result from his invention, he would be freed from all taxation.

The application of a single land tax on a hypothesis of either of the above cited instances (and which are of repeated occurrence) would be a gross injustice, and unworthy of civilized man's approval.

The further proposition that mankind should be taxed, not on what they may have honestly earned or saved, but in proportion to the special advantages which they are suffered to enjoy, carries with it its own condemnation.

Abolish special privileges! nothing but the covetousness and corruptiveness of the legislator enables such privileges; adopt the initiative and the referendum, and special privileges will not obtain, except with collective man's consent.

Let all mankind undertake whatever enterprises they desire, that are not destructive or detrimental to the community; and tax only the benefits or profits derived from same.

The reasoning that a single tax on land values is the most equal and just of all taxes fails to carry truthfulness as its conclusion.

Land valuations or rental values will constantly fluctuate, being controlled by the phenomena which governs all nature and mankind.

Droughts or floods, or other natural phenomena, will destroy productiveness; while progress in the methods of production, through advances made in the arts and sciences, might so manifold the quantities of the production as to destroy its disposal value.

Land values or rentals, in large communities, are also subject to constant fluctuation (though population may have increased), consequent upon the whim or caprice of man as to change of location.

Further, values of land do not increase spontaneously no more than population does; the original holder of land must have expended time and labor in improvements and development, which encouraged growth and increase of population. Population does

not cluster toward the wilds of nature, but always toward the improvements.

Those who encourage the growth of population should be entitled to the same advantages as those who encourage the growth of the industries.

Both should be equally taxed in rated proportions to the revenue which they respectively gained, under the protection of the state, and the conjointure and support of the people.

What incentive would lie to individual man to acquire ownership to land were it only and solely subject to taxation, whether the result from its purposes were a loss or a profit.

Suppose the land represented the homestead, and the only means of support to the holder; the course or phenomena of nature itself might be the cause of the failure of productiveness; or sickness or incapacity from labor might prevent earning a sufficiency for support. A single tax on land in such a case could despoil man of the very thing that could make his life enjoyable and endurable, and of that in the name of a presumed equity or justice he would be deprived.

Should a tax on land finally reach the full production or rental value, in what sense could this maintain the full employment of the people, and yet retain the stimulus to human ambitions and emulations? It would finally revert all land title to government. All incentive toward improvements would be effaced.

This would end progress and encourage man's reversion to a final barbarism.

The placing of all unemployed mankind to the tilling of the soil, as an assured means of securing the necessaries to sustain life, might have been congenial to primeval man, or to a condition when production was not equal to the maintenance of population; but would be totally inconsistent with the present knowledge and ability of production—which through the aid of the arts and sciences enables an ability to a production even far in excess of the needs of intelligent consumption to all mankind.

It could not be carried into effective purpose or consummation, even were conditions congenial thereto, without the assistance or support of government so as to be guaranteed a sustenance, awaiting the development of nature's growth or output. The result from the necessary labor that would have to be expended could also be fully effaced or destroyed through the cause or causes of natural phenomena, such as frosts, droughts or floods; which would entail a still greater suffering to the cultivator; it would be difficult to dispose of or utilize the surplus production (after securing and supplying the actual necessities) so as to be enabled an ability, as to a reciprocal exchange, as to the other necessary commodities requisite to the fulfillment of life's purposes and needs. A reciprocal exchange value as between the different necessary commodities is an absolute and essential necessity as to the many different requirements of humankind's needs (and without which the peace, prosperity and happiness of the people

cannot be secured), as no single man or family is able to provide that which is requisite for their convenience or security: it would lessen the reputive value of the present ability to production, which is already in excess of the ability to consumption, a consequence of the lack of power as to a reciprocal exchange value; this would finally entail a greater human want, a greater human misery.

With land title vested in government, man would have to content himself with sufficient for sustenance. And this would apply with equal force to government possession of the industries (and government title to land would of necessity finally embrace the industries); all incentive to development or improvement would lose its purposes and cease, and mankind under such circumstances would retrograde toward the primeval conditions.

If a single tax on land values or rentals has for its purpose, what it could have in effect, final confiscation and no individual title, it would finally result in absolute socialism or communism, as expressed and understood, as all incentive to human ambition would positively cease.

Then no industry could be individual, except so far as it would be allowed, if at all; without this human incentive, this individuality, with man's nature as now displayed, socialism, communism and final anarchism would be a foregone conclusion.

A single tax on land, analogous to that just exemplified, has many sincere advocates fully convinced

that by its adoption wealth would become justly diffused, and the physical and moral welfare of humankind permanently bettered.

This, however, admits of serious contention. Let us assume an hypothesis:

A husbandman takes the virgin soil and tills the same; this requires labor, time and expense; if fortune favors him, and the supply of his production is not in excess of a healthy demand and consumption, he could probably maintain a good livelihood and support his taxes.

But suppose, which is often the case, that the frost should blight his crop, or a drought or a flood destroy his labors, should his land be sold to pay his taxes? Would this be equity?

No human laws can control nature, and all laws should flow from those of nature.

Or can a doubt exist, that the values of the different productions fluctuate through commercial laws?

Further, great improvements in the method of production enables a rapid and excessive outcome of nature's bounty; result, loss of disposal value and harsh competition to realize.

Would it be just to tax this land, while the merchant, the inventor, or those engaged in the industries, might be reaping large profits, and yet be freed from all taxation?

The civilized world is not suffering from lack of wealth or production, but from centralization and lack of a necessary diffusion.

By increasing the production still further, and opening up new lands, it would in nowise increase the ability to the consumption of the increased production.

It is to the progress in the methods of production, and the increased results therefrom, that makes husbandry, under our present code of ethics, as often a loss as a profit to the individual.

This applies with equal force to constructions in cities or towns. An excess of production must lessen rental value, without in anywise increasing the demand. In such cases a tax on the same may often necessitate a loss. To tax such a loss, while freeing other possible benefits or profits, would be an injustice, an inequity.

Further, population clusters or centers toward special or attractive points. There benefits may be ample and rentals full; while other less favored sections may be depleted. In similar cases to this just cited, some would be taxed who had received no revenue out of which to pay their taxes; this would lead to final confiscation. Would this be justice, equity?

To construct additional buildings under such conditions would cause further and greater loss, without in anywise bettering the necessity for the same.

It would be directly contrary to the laws and rules of commerce, as well as of the science or phenomena which control human actions.

Still further, the great progress in the arts and

sciences enables conditions and possibilities, the conception of which was never within the anticipation of past ages. Single structures are constructed so vast in height (utilizing atmospheric space) as to be enabled to contain the population of a considerable town.

To tax adjoining land or buildings equal to that on these large structures would create a great hardship, as the gains from the one would be far in excess of those of the other.

These large structures growing, as agriculture and the industries, faster than population, or the ability or necessity of the human requirements, must finally cause still greater depressions.

Should a single tax on land always result as a tax on a profit, and never on a loss, which hypothesis would not be in consonance with true commercial rulings, and would often be subverted by nature's laws, it could not and would not maintain a just diffusion or avoid individual centralization, without which the physical and moral welfare of mankind will never keep pace with the steady growth of the arts and sciences, and the necessities of a higher and a truer life.

Mankind has largely sympathized toward a tax on land; land exemplified nature; from it all wealth flows; it is always visible and cannot be concealed—no trick or device can hide its worth.

But land without labor will not maintain advanced and constantly numerically growing humanity; and

labor throughout the so-called civilized world will always be controlled by commercial ruling and the relative progress made in the arts and sciences.

A single tax on land would be a tax on kind, which would be special taxation; from the fact that it might demand a tax out of the results from productions or possessions which had determined in a loss, as well as out of the results from those productions or possessions which had secured a profit; proving in the application a discrimination, instead of a uniformity of tax among all the subjects.

A single graduated net profit tax which would be the natural tax, would in nowise exempt land from its exactions; but must of necessity include all the net benefits or gains derived from the same, whether resulting from the product of the soil, the renting of the soil, or of tenements, or from that which is expressed as the "unearned increment," or the profits derived from any advances made in reputive values through the force of commercial rulings or the growth of population.

XI.

REVENUE.

A revenue for the support of government, and the carrying out of all its necessary functions is absolutely essential to its existence.

The first and principal point that arises is, should the functions of government be purely police, or should it extend to a fuller purpose ?—can a doubt exist ?

Tariffs or duties, whether high or low, are simply expediencies (for the purposes of raising revenue), and are made tc conform to special requirements of special sections. They cannot, or do not, equalize the conditions of supply or demand, or assist toward the securement of a natural or necessary diffusion, on which all healthy commercial prosperity depends, but are truly footballs, kicked about to deceive the people, inuring to the special benefit of sections or individuals. Local conditions continually call for deviations from their uniformity.

A nation which is rich in every sort of production, such as these United States, should incessantly guard against the importations of rivals who might still continue superior.

Prohibition might often in fact become necessary

with regard to certain objects. Duties cannot adequately supply the place of prohibitions.

Duties from customs can never be of any direct or indirect benefit to the total people, whether these duties are high or low, as the total of the duties or custom tax has to be paid by the consumer, not the foreign producer, the tax being added to the cost of the product.

If this were not the case the taxable goods could not be imported. The tax being paid by the consumer, it is not only inequitable by the fact that it is not borne by all the people, but only by those who actually use the imported production, but that it also restrains and restricts the home production to the full extent of the amount of importation.

The fact that importation is maintained, as shown by the custom receipts, is conclusive proof as to the profit of the importation, and the superiority of foreign productions as to cost of manufacture over our own manufacture.

There can be no justice in taxing special property whether by high or low duties; for this would imply that some people who used these taxed products paid the taxes, while others who did not use the taxed articles were exempt from taxation; and the quantity of the tax would vary with the different productions.

Yet all subjects have the full benefit of the government function and security.

Each subject should be compelled to contribute

to the support of the government, in graded proportion to the net benefits or profits which they respectively accumulated under the care of the government and conjointure or support of the collective people.

These taxes should be fixed and certain, and not subject to constant changes.

Prohibition would undoubtedly increase the home necessities for that which was prohibited; and to that extent be beneficial and enhance the wage of the laborer, enabling a larger and fuller consumption of all the good things that nature provided; but there are other serious difficulties to offset.

As a result from the present code of ethics governing all so-called civilization, the centralization and greed of accumulated capital, and the constant progress made in the arts and sciences, competition becomes so harsh, and the ability as to the productive capacity so increased, as largely to destroy the need of man's employment.

This condition creates a surplus of help; consequently a lessening of wage and of the consumptive power's purchasing ability to use and consume the increased production.

Neither duties nor prohibition can effect a necessary or just diffusion. The means to effect this diffusion must be secured by a direct taxation, and consummated through the governmental function, surveillance and guidan-

The internal object of government should be to maintain:

First. Agriculture—the first basis and physical support of the nation.

Second. Industry—the employment, and therefore the comfort and happiness of the people.

Third. Foreign trade—this should only cover a necessary reciprocal relation between the people of the different nations to supply and assist each other with those things which nature, by climate, customs and conditions, fails to enable them to supply for and by themselves, and should not be subject to any duties or tax. Foreign trade can and should only result from a superabundance; or the surplus of agriculture and industry. This superabundance should not exist until every able and willing person at home was fully supplied with all the necessaries, uses and desires, to enable a full physical and moral welfare.

Fourth. Beside enabling its police supervision and without interfering with man's individuality, to effect a just and necessary diffusion of the surplus collective benefits derived through its care, enabling the physical welfare of all its subjects.

This can be fully, justly and equitably effected by the adoption of a new code of political ethics with a single graduated net profit tax as its base; which tax should not be adjudged against those benefits or profits which were expended and consumed in the expenditures and requirements of the different in-

dustries; or in the needs, conveniences or desires of personal or family support; thereby removing restrictions which would otherwise tend to a false economy of the goods of life, instead of its full utilization in accordance with the fullness of nature.

XII.

THE TAX ON INCOMES OR GAINS.

Would-be political economists, unable to keep pace with the material progress, and fearful of impugning their oft-reiterated though false reasonings as to a true political economy, claim that an income tax, (which should not be confounded with a single graduated net benefit or profit tax, as an income tax would tax first or original revenues, not final or net results), however just in theory, has always proved unequal, from the impossibility of obtaining accurate returns; and unpopular from the necessities it involved of prying into the business and private concerns of the people.

To reason that the adoption of a single graduated net profit tax, or any net income tax which was universal in its application, was wrong and undemocratic in principle, because it would involve a horde of official tax-eaters, and require inquisitorial methods, is barely worthy of consideration.

A law of taxation, properly enacted as to its requirements and as to its penalties for evasions, if just in its inception, as to the equity of the system, would be the freest and fullest in execution of any system of taxation that could be devised.

The number of officials necessary to enforce its purposes would adjust itself; while the charge of undemocratic and inquisitorial fails of force and intelligence, as it is only under a democracy that the majority have the power to make their own laws, and the majority acts preclude the thought of inquisitorialness.

By no system of philosophy or reasoning can the conclusion be determined, that it would require a horde of tax collectors to enforce the requirements of a single law, and but a comparative few to enforce the requirements of many laws.

Were the proposition truthful (which the reasonings of a true philosophy would quickly deny); that it would involve a horde of official tax-eaters to enforce its exactions, it would in nowise affect the validity, equality or justice of the tax itself, or repudiate the reasoning that the adoption of such a tax would relieve the harshnesses now common over all so-called civilization, enabling a higher and a better life to the human race. As before expressed, the more multitudinous the means, or the measures at which the human race can be employed, the more happy and beneficial the results that would be derived therefrom, as long as these employments did not interfere with the employ in and of the individual industries. The cost would be part of the government expenditures, and all the moneys of taxation would flow back through a necessary reciprocal exchange into the very channels from which it had been exacted.

Adam Smith, the most philosophical of all political economists for the time in which he lived, but whose reasonings were based upon a condition of society in an age in which the relative progress in the arts and sciences was as yet almost in its early inception, or childhood of development; when the Malthusian conclusion, as to the natural ability of production, as to the wants of growth of population, had firm and convincing hold upon the minds of most all men, claimed:

"That the subjects of every state ought to contribute toward the support of the government, as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenues which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state.

"Every tax, which falls only upon rent, or only upon wages, or only upon interest, is necessarily unequal."

(He might have added, with equal truth, or upon any special production; or even upon anything or everything that is contained within the term "necessary to the uses, needs, desires, or luxuries of mankind," even if the tax were specific and of a uniform rate of percentage.)

Following the same authority, he claims, "that the just system of taxation is, that every one should pay taxes in accordance with his means, or in proportion to his income."

Here is exemplified the proposition as to the

justice and equity of an income tax as the proper system of taxation.

Though this might have been just as a general proposition (had the proposition been made to read net income tax), in some earlier conditions of society, even such as that in which Adam Smith lived, it would fail of full justice, and final security, in this age of material progress, by failing to provide for a necessary diffusion of the collective production so as to maintain the industry of the whole, caring for man's physical welfare, disturbed by the great and continuous progress made in the fuller development of the arts and sciences.

To admit that there are insuperable practical difficulties in the way of taxing every one according to his means or income, would be contrary to human intelligence, and a libel on any system of government.

It takes but little effort to make an assertion for effect, upon the uninstructed mind; but it will fail of its purpose when submitted to the logic of philosophy.

To claim that any tax which was conceded by the people to be just, equitable and proper, and conducive to the general welfare of the whole, of all classes, could not be made effective on account of insuperable practical difficulties, is unworthy of any comment.

Adam Smith speaks of incomes as enjoyed under the protection of the state; and through the state

only the full security and enjoyment of property is made possible; therefore it, and it only, should be made to bear the burden of the state.

In the abstract, this would be pure and true philosophy.

The only valid and truthful objection that can be offered as to the correctness and effectiveness of this tenet is:

First. "That it could not be made to bear with justice and equity on all," as some incomes, having been consumed, no property would lie out of which to enforce collection of tax.

Second. "That the tax would bear more heavily on the man who had a large family to rear and provide for; and who would have to expend a large portion of his income to provide and care for his family, as against he who had no family to support."

In many old communities it was looked upon as a justice to tax the unmarried portions of the community, in order to enable bounties to those rearing families; bounties being graded in accordance with the number of the offspring—as the propagation of the human race, among the wise and the just, was always considered as of the greatest import and security to society, and a requirement of nature itself.

If, as heretofore cited, the tax had been proposed as a net income tax, this objection would have been obviated.

The next, and final objection, even if it carried its

just force as a net income tax, is, that even were a net income tax, a single tax, under the constant and steady improvements made in all the arts and sciences, if simply made to provide for a revenue sufficient to enable the functions of the government, as a government for police only, that it would not provide for the true and proper purposes of government, which in addition to police, should guide and provide for the adjustment of an equilibrium as between the affairs of man, whereby the physical welfare of the community should be allowed and enabled, and which no system of taxation which did not provide for progressive taxation could successfully secure—so as still to allow the attainment, as to each and every individual, of their separate ambitions and emulations; that it would not provide and allow for a just and necessary diffusion of the collective surplus, without which the bounties of nature would be disregarded, and final insecurity to person and property would be the result.

The inability to maintain an equality of uses of the different productions would enable and allow (under the authority of an income tax) a larger proportion of the amount of taxes to be paid by certain portions of the community as against other portions; nevertheless all would be receiving an equal right as to the protection and benefits of government.

Besides, it might be expressed as the cream of injustice ever to tax mankind for that which had been consumed, either in the absolute necessities, or in the luxuries of life.

That which had been consumed does not exist; therefore to enforce a collection of such a tax would be exacting a tax out of present possessions, to pay for possessions which had already passed beyond one's power or control.

Besides, possessions consumed in the needs, desires or luxuries of life, had already effected their full natural purposes of good; in having enabled to the full extent of such uses, that for which the good of society itself was formed, viz., to employ the people, and enable a reciprocal exchange of man's respective wants.

It would also carry with it a further inequity, taxing present possessions to enforce the payment of a tax as against past and present possessions: as it could only be enforced against that portion of the community which held existing possessions, acting as a double tax upon such.

Some would virtually be compelled to pay the tax of those against whom the tax could not be collected, provided they had already consumed their whole possessions or income.

Great weight should be attached to the concession, that nearly all the economists of the day concede that such an income tax is just in theory, but unable of execution.

Whatever is just in theory will prove itself just in practice, or the collective wisdom of mankind would be of no avail or purpose.

All wisdom, all progression, takes theory first for

its base; and when once conceded to be theoretically correct, has never failed of the fullness and completeness of final perfection.

All laws are unpopular that interfere with what unreasoning or unjust people call their individual liberties. The murderer, the thief or the drunkard complains of the law's interference with their individual liberties.

Yet collective man insists on enforcing their laws as just and beneficial to the whole, though restrictive to the individual who complains.

Those who always do that which is proper and just have no scruples as to government prying into that which they have already honestly submitted.

It is only the rascal or knave, whose doings were contrary to law, and fears the just penalties which would be attached to his wrong doings, who would complain loudly as to the prying into what he calls his private affairs.

Should the selfish wailings of a comparative few disturb and distort the security and physical welfare of the great many?

An enactment of a just law, intentional evasions of which would subject the offender to imprisonment and confiscation of estate, but if not discovered until after death, with full confiscation of estate, would tend largely to make even the knave honest. Just men would avoid no law, and knaves would fear and dread its penalties.

A law which is single and universal in its bearings can never be fairly construed as inquisitorial.

A government which enacts just and equitable laws, and has neither the power nor the desire to justly enforce its own enactments, is unworthy and unfit the name of government.

Wherever human nature is found there is a mixture of vice and virtue, a contest of passion and reason, but, thanks to the justice of nature, virtue always predominates.

The grand doctrine that is slowly taking its place as the highest social truth, is that the world was made for all, and not for a few; that society is to care for all; that no human being should perish but through his own fault; that the great end of government is to spread its shield over the rights of all. These propositions are growing into axioms.

Why then should we despair that the reasons which have enabled humankind to subdue all nature to its purposes will achieve the further conquest, enabling the collective wisdom of mankind to bear down those obstacles which individual shortsightedness, selfishness and passion oppose to all improvements, by which the highest hopes are continually blighted and the brightest prospects marred.

THE NATURAL TAX.

To tax a Loss, is an injustice, a crime.
To tax a benefit or profit, an equity.
Therefore Tax profit, never tax loss.

THE NATURAL TAX.

I.

ECONOMICS.

Political and social economy are so closely interwoven in their bearings upon the condition and welfare of the nations, controlled by their respective systems, that they can properly be considered as of one creation. When the social economics of a nation present features threatening the general upheaval of the whole social fabric, it were wise to closely scan its system of political economy for the evil roots from which spring its social discontents.

Governments are presumably formed for the purposes of guaranteeing to the societies that they govern a protection to the life, liberty, prosperity and property of their subjects.

To execute the purposes of government and secure the greatest degree of happiness and contentment to the people governed, a system of taxation is adopted, to enable the fulfillment of the governmental function.

These systems of taxation, which vary in method and kind, are supposed or intended to conform to

the specific requirements and conditions of the different nations over which they are exercised, and might be properly defined as their political economy. The different systems of political economy, now in vogue among the nations called the civilized world, are almost exclusively hereditary or ancestral, having withstood the storms and changes of many succeeding generations. They have become so thoroughly inoculated and absorbed into the system of the general body politic, by time and custom, that the slightest effort at modification, if simply to conform to the changed requirements and conditions of the people governed, meets with strenuous and bitter opposition.

This is largely the result of sentiment. Sentiment being for the most part traditionary, it is felt and acted on, because it was so felt by those who preceded us. As the human reason develops and information becomes more thoroughly diffused, sentiment and tradition will give way to the teachings of intellectual progress. The similarity of nearly all present systems of taxation governing the different nations called the civilized world fully determines the antiquity and source of their origin, the nature of the governments from which these systems were transmitted carrying the conviction, that they were not grounded upon the desire of granting equal rights and justice to all, but of strengthening and maintaining the power of the few, as feudatory or monarchical systems of government were not given

to considering the justice or the equity of laws, but the efficiency of method which would maintain their own supremacy. The strongest impress as to the inequality and injustice of these systems of taxation being the fact that the taxes are restrictive and exacted out of kind; are sectional, not universal, in their bearing; that the burden of the taxes are most wholly borne (as they have been in all times past) by the working or producing classes, to the almost exclusion of the wealthy few; that the excess of the whole tax (as applied by the separate states) is on land and its appurtenances, which is largely a tax on poverty, not on wealth; the landlord being but the medium of transfer; while the unearned increment —which is the absolute outcome of the growth of population—redounds exclusively to the landholder's benefit. That the national taxes, which are mainly those on customs, are to a great extent sectional in their actions and bearings (and often varied to accommodate special conditions, requirements and surroundings), and are also most fully borne by the producing classes, to the large exclusion of the wealthy classes. That the further taxes, which are greatly varied at times, are incidental and can be termed the sumptuary taxes, such as those on wines, spirits and tobacco; and are as unjust as they are unequal and arbitrary, being an attack on the liberty of the individual, as to the enjoyment of the luxuries of life.

II.

AN EXEMPLIFIED TAX.

Neither a divided nor a single tax, on kind, can ever be equitable or just. A tax to be an equitable and just tax, should be a single tax, but must be a natural tax—general in its effects, not local or specific; it should be exacted so as to be applied with an uniformity of justice and precision as to each and every subject. It should grow in rate as the subject's necessity for good and effective government grows; it should grow in rate as the gains realized under the government's protection grow in rate; so as to enable the government to maintain a necessary diffusion of the benefits derived from the government's care and the people's conjointure; it should grow in rate so as to avoid too great a centralization of wealth, which the present unjust systems of taxation greatly encourage; which might by its power, threaten the subversion or the perversion of the governmental functions; it should grow in rate so as to avoid monopoly by the few, at the expense, comfort and happiness of the many; it should grow in rate so as to make possible a brighter and a higher civilization; the offspring of which would be the enjoyments of the bounties of nature, and the luxuries of civilization, by all who seek its benefits.

The tax should be exacted out of the net profits, not out of profits or loss; it should be a single tax, a graduated net profit tax, abolishing all other methods and measures of taxation; the tax rate increasing as the profit increases, thereby justifying the virtue and justice of such a system of taxation by its equality in execution, its justice in its divisions, its benefits in its results.

To exemplify the method of such a single graduated net profit tax, the following table may be applied, not to be construed arbitrarily as to the gradation, but only as to method:

On Net Profits up to	Government Tax.	Government Revenue.	Remainder Absolutely freed from any further Taxation.
$1,000	1 per cent.	$10	$990
2,000	2 "	30	1,970
3,000	3 "	60	2,940
4,000	4 "	100	3,900
5,000	5 "	150	4,850
10,000	10 "	650	9,350
20,000	15 "	2,150	17,850
30,000	20 "	4,150	25,850
40,000	25 "	6,650	33,350
50,000	30 "	9,650	40,350
60,000	35 "	13,150	46,850
80,000	40 "	21,150	58,850
100,000	50 "	31,150	68,850
200,000	60 "	91,150	108,850
300,000	70 "	161,150	138,850
500,000	80 "	321,150	178,850
1,000,000	90 "	771,150	228,850

Each increased rate of taxation applying to the amount of profit in excess of the amount applicable to the preceding rate, all net profits in excess of five

hundred thousand dollars subject to the tax of ninety per cent. Let it be understood that this table is merely explanatory. The burden of such a system of taxation being absolutely on net profits only, and borne in equal ratio by each and every subject, in accordance with the different net profits realized, its equity would be perfect, and none but from selfish motives could claim it as inquisitorial; or to admit that perjured subjects would avoid its execution and its exaction would be both a libel on the people and a further confession as to the weakness of government. Though wickedness and vice may always exist, under the most beneficent systems of government, the great mass of society will always be pledged to maintain, uphold and execute the laws. This is civilization's triumph, springing from its bosom and arising out of its nature.

III.

A NEWER AND JUSTER BALANCE.

In order to subvert the fixed conditions which society has been maintaining for centuries, attacking all existing and established customs, a strong and evident necessity must exist therefor; and it were wise to examine into the origin, justice and equity of these existing conditions.

An injustice or crime does not improve or become a virtue "as wine does by its claim to old age;" nor does wrong become right because organized society, being fully engrossed in its own selfish pleasures and gains, abides by, encourages and further maintains such an injustice. Society is but too ready to accept the "what is" for the "what should be," because the impress of time has allowed it to exist, and woven it into its fixedness. Earlier governments too largely manifested unjust and class distinctions, enabling those that were favored to gather and increase their wealths without labor, from the major classes not favored but proscribed. Unfortunately class legislation, class distinction, is largely evidenced in our own generation by venal legislators granting the people's rights and privileges to the favored few.

The base of all wealth "is the bounty of nature;"

whether on land or sea, field, farm or mine, it must be developed by labor. Therefore all wealths are but the culminated effects, the completed result of labor's efforts. Nature is bountiful and prolific, but does not yield up its virtue except on labor's call. Wealth does not or cannot grow of its own inherent worth. The dollar of to-day or its equivalent can only be the dollar of every succeeding day. It can only be added to by seeking further in nature's treasury, and by nature's laws. As the landlord stands to-day as the medium of transfer of the tenant's taxes, so does the holder of wealth stand; simply as the medium of transfer of labor's output. With nature's treasury as the storehouse, wealth without labor could not contain itself; labor without wealth could fatten and produce new wealths.

Confronting this fact, how could large accumulations of wealth be gathered and held; so large that by its power even the machinery and laws of commerce are subverted and controlled; and the honesty and safety of governments themselves even imperiled thereby? Individually it were physically impossible to gather these wealths from the natural sources, or fountain of all wealth—nature's bounty—by labor's effort.

These great wealths are simply the outcome of false, dishonest and unjust systems of political economy, fostered and encouraged by governmental contrivance through class distinction; by taxable methods which bear heavily and almost exclusively on the laboring

or producing classes, who are practically denied the benefits that should be derived from their own productions; by taxable methods which tax the loss as well as the profit; by venal and corrupt class legislation, which concedes the rights of the whole people to the uses and benefits of the chosen few; by class legislation, which fosters and abets monopoly in its direst and most wicked form; by class legislation, which taxes poverty to further enrich wealth; by class legislation, of which the essence is moral dishonesty, the effect legal honesty; the outgrowth of which being chicanery, fraud, falsehood, dishonesty—enabling thereby the accumulation of excessive and increasing wealths.

The material and intellectual progress of the so-called civilized world goes forward with giant strides, the conditions and circumstances surrounding the people being keenly sensitive to these advances. Yet governments and partisanships, fearful of impairing their own power or supremacy, fail to keep pace with these changed conditions.

Legislation often resorts to expediencies in seeking relief, but these expediencies are finally more destructive to prosperity than non-interference, the analogies from which they are deduced belonging to other ages, other conditions and circumstances of the people, a lower standard of civilization and no regard to the relative condition of the arts and sciences, without which last consideration, namely, the relative condition of the arts and sciences, all efforts

at relief were futile. Relief to be effective must be general, not specific; it can only be attained through a just system of taxation. This would be secured by the adoption of the system of the natural tax on net profits only, developing a perfect protection to life, liberty and the right to share in the distribution of the bounties of nature. Then will taxation and protection be maintained as reciprocal rights and duties. Then might be hoped for the further development of society on harmonious and equitable principles, each to receive according to his ability.

Within a period of half a century the changes that have occurred with relation to all our industries, by the relative progress made in all the arts and sciences controlling the industrial world, have exceeded what the world had before known during its entire past. The semblance toward a completed perfection, enabling a manifold increase of the productive power of all the earth's resources, has so subverted the ordinary conditions of mankind as to past usages and experiences as to call for a new and juster balance, whereby old economic conditions must be obliterated and such substituted that would conform to the changed conditions of the people and their surroundings.

The false conclusions of Malthus (known as the Malthusian theory) which once so strongly impressed the best minds of the then civilized world, "that population, when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio, while subsistence increases only in arith-

metical ratio," are completely repudiated by the fact that in our generation the rapid development made in the arts and sciences (irrespective of the immense growth and wants of population) enables the production of all the known wants of the entire population far in excess of their ability to purchase same for consumption, besides denying employment to a large number of the population to produce such excessive production.

IV.

PROGRESS OF THE ARTS.

This condition is to be attributed to the development of labor-saving machinery, steam, electricity and the constant advances made in chemistry. It has enormously developed the power and possibilities of production, so as to far outstrip at present as human affairs are conducted, man's utmost powers of consumption. It has driven all surplus population to the large cities and towns, to seek for employment or to remain in great part idle.

It has enabled so harsh a competition in human labor, that it has no other interest in the work than is granted them in wages paid as so much toil; but too often losing their mechanical identity, and always subject to the uncontrolled interest and caprice of those who too often know no other motive than that of avarice. It has broken up and destroyed the whole ancient system of agriculture, of all household and family manufactures, of all manufactures in the small towns and villages in the country, of the whole system of individual and independent action in production and manufacture, where any one who had then possessed a trade could, by his own hands, make that trade a support and means of advancement; it

has driven the country population to the cities; it has crowded the large cities and towns with an abnormal and unnatural growth of population; it has produced a myriad of idleness and a myriad of want; it has produced an excessive increase of all the earth's resources without any adequate relief being secured whereby the employment or consumptive power of the people could be maintained at an equitable ratio. To divert, a banquet of nature, spread over the whole land—the soil, the factory, and the mine yielding out of their riches a more than sufficiency, a superabundance. Yet myriads are idle, vainly seeking employment, and constantly dreading the hour of want. This condition is both paradoxical and unnatural, and cries loudly for an early and a natural relief.

But yea or nay, machinery is here, and will remain here, constantly increasing in development. All that is wanted is the power of the millions to consume the production, not the power or desire to lessen production. With steam, electricity and labor-saving machinery at its base, the whole present system of production and manufacture is established on the principle of producing for a market, not as formerly, for home and domestic uses first, last and always, only exchanging a small part for that which could not be used at home.

All produce now for the millions, incidentally also for the millionaires; but for the millions to consume, employment must be readily secured, and remunera-

tion sufficiently ample to enable consumption. General cheapness means general poverty; it is not cheap products that are needed, but the ability to buy and consume all products at reciprocal exchange prices. An increase in the demand for labor, sufficiently great to set all at work, would have the direct effect of increasing wages and salaries; and the combined effect of these conditions would be a vast increase in the volume of trade.

Without the people's ability to a full consumption labor-saving machinery becomes a dangerous enemy to the welfare and peace of the general people; but, making every man, woman and child consumers to the extent of their capacity, would make such machinery the greatest boon of civilization.

The true interest of a just political economy would be to fully employ the whole of the people, and at the highest wages, so as to enable them to the use of a full consumption of all the products. Labor keeps nothing; it either consumes the whole in products or returns the same to those in whom it has confidence as a trust. Per contra, if the people are idle, or but partly at work, and poorly paid, they can consume little or nothing; their market is lost, they become valueless to society and suffer great distress. Unfortunately, such is the people's present condition. Relief must be found, and quickly, to avoid a greater distress, for enforced idleness must find relief or it will seek it in the throes of revolution. This relief must be natural and general, not specific.

It is man as a consumer that has to be dealt with in order to make our present system and object of production a success; and because such has not been done we find ourselves in the midst of such harsh conditions.

To anticipate that any of the separate or different nations of the earth will permit other nations (at the sacrifice of their own industries, and at the loss of employment to their own people) to do their manufacturing for them or grow the food they eat, would simply be the keen conception of a keener folly. All the nations of so-called ciivlization evidencing the same condition, great commercial depression, enormous enforced idleness, and all seeking foreign markets to dispose of their surplus products. Relief must be had—the evils that exist are too great, too rapidly developing and increasing in intensity, to be much longer borne—if not found in legal and peaceful ways, it is sure to be found in violence. The distress is general, the relief must be general.

This rapid development in all the arts and sciences, absolutely revolutionizing in an era of half a century, the fixed conditions of many preceding ages, producing effects that have no analogous similitudes, precludes the possibilities of relief from those political economics that were based upon the crude conditions of the earlier civilization.

V.

CAUSE AND EFFECT.

The complexity of the causes that led up to these wonderful developments are so manifold, and far reaching as to origin, as to despair of even the most exhaustive inquiry, realizing more than theoretical conclusions in result; the facts and the effects remain, irrespective of the cause, the effects being but too vital to the contentment and welfare of the whole people.

The harsh conditions under which the earlier general people existed, the injustices and inequity of their political economies, the necessities of the ruling powers to precipitate wars in order to hush up the wailings, wants and discontents of their subjects, the changed conditions created thereby in the internal and productive powers of such nations, caused by the destructions of wars and the people's displacement from industry to strife, created necessities which could not be bettered or relieved by their then known methods of production or sources of supply. Bounties and privileges were freely offered for all methods which would relieve these wants, creating thereby great incentives toward the securement of any improvements that would increase production,

and at the same time lessen the need of the human help to produce such increased production. Hence, labor-saving devices and machinery. Necessity, which knows no law, cares neither for the experiences of past economics nor the probability nor possibility of future disturbances that may arise from the application of supplying immediate wants; its maxim being "the evil of the day is sufficient for the day."

Should the human mind, with its thousand ingenious and complex systems of reasoning (more particularly with its present knowledge of the known and fixed natural laws and the great acquisition of chemistry), exert itself to the further and fuller development of all progressive mechanisms, it is beyond the compute of man as to the final results that may be attained. This would not of necessity impair the general comfort and prosperity of the people, were it not that the effect, therefrom, under the government of present economics, would encourage a greater human idleness, which would involve a greater distress and want, a consequent lower wage, and an increased depression. Capital or wealth—governed by its exclusive selfishness or avarice, aided and abetted by class legislation, and an unjust and unequal system of taxation; a dishonest political economy, endorsed and supported by the physical power of government to maintain an unjust supremacy, which the power of wealth enables it to control—finds a ready method to further lower wage rates, to further increase idleness, to further

centralize, enhance and control wealth's acquisition. Hence pools, syndicates, trusts, combinations, made legal in effect, but wicked, immoral, dishonest in design; the result being a control or limitation of the productive capacities when desired, increased disposal value when desired, complete stoppage of production when desired, sufficient wealth to crush competition when desired, and all the evil attributes of absolute monopoly.

This relentless craze for excessive and ever growing wealth, irrespective of the morality of its procuring; irrespective of its results on the physical and material welfare of the great majority; is the scourge of the age we live in; it strengthens every vice, blights every virtue, and infects all society like a pestilence.

It were false to ascribe the effects and the results therefrom in the harsh industrial conditions to natural defects. In earlier ages sectional visitations of droughts or floods, with their consequential famines or pestilences, were attributed to Divine wrath and punishments; in our age all such visitations are intelligently ascribed to natural and meteorological conditions; but in consequence of the rapid means of intercourse between all sections of the civilized world, one of the blessed results of the progress in the arts and sciences, such visitations should not materially affect the afflicted sections.

As nature has been overbountiful, the evil effects and results that now confront us can only be attributed to human proscriptions and perversities, the

outcome of avarice and selfishness, the outcome of unjust legislation, the outcome of false political economy, with its resultant false social economy, as expounded and enforced through its unjust and dishonest systems of taxation. Relief must come through a change in the system of taxation, which is the root of all the evil. This change must be radical to be effective. Must be general and natural, not specific or local. Must abolish all present methods and measures of taxation. Must be equitable, not classified. Must bear with an equal exactness as to each subject's proportion. Must be shared by all, each according to his ability. Must be exacted out of the net profits only, never exacted as against a loss; and this can be fully attained and carried into execution by the adoption of the taxable system of a single graduated net profit tax. The adoption of such a system of taxation would secure, maintain and realize the essence of a true and just political economy, "providing everything necessary for supplying the wants of society, employing all the inhabitants in such a manner as naturally to create reciprocal wants and dependencies, so as to make their several interests lead them to supply one another with their reciprocal wants."

VI.

THE AGE OF COMMERCE.

This is essentially a commercial age; to its pursuits, acquirements and results, all thoughts are concentrated. Commerce is inflexibly governed by the laws of visible supply and demand.

The law of supply might be, and too often is, controlled by artificial means, such as hoarding or storing large stocks to make a seeming scarcity, creating thereby an increased and fictitious valuation; by combinations or trusts which control or stop the output, by locking up manufactures and by lessening productions, increase valuations; by the substitution and adoption of steam, electricity, labor-saving machinery; powers which can increase the supply beyond the wants or ability of the demand, causing a depression, consequently a lessening of values often below the cost of production! But the laws of demand are governed by fixed and positive rules, and are almost solely dependent upon the purchasing ability of the consuming classes to supply their wants. Under the regime of present political economics, these strained, forced and unnatural subversions of true commercial laws will continue to exist, disturbing natural effects, upheaving the social fabric, threatening the peace and welfare of the whole.

It can only be changed by the adoption of a new system of political economics; it is to a new system of taxation, a just system, a natural system, that relief must be sought for. "The cargo of the Ship of State has been shifted, the ballast removed from stem to stern; without a new and a just balance to work by, she will be wrecked in the first storm." A political economy, to be just and effective, must look to the betterment of the conditions of the whole people, and should always be consistent with the relative progress of the general education, and the advance in the arts and sciences. The peas and porridge which was the portion of the earlier races, cannot and will not suffice for the superior knowledge and requirements of our civilization.

Resorting to expediencies (avoiding the true and natural solution) will fail to secure any permanent relief. The reliefs must be natural, general and broad; legal restrictions governing the number of the hours of labor in the attempt to equalize the conditions of supply as to demand, as between the individual and the individual industries, can never be effective or conclusive; it might secure temporary and sectional relief, but would require continuous readjustment to keep pace with the constant advances being made in all the arts and sciences; as the number of the hours of service for labor's employ should be natural, not artificial, it needs be governed by actual demand.

Even its temporary success would be a great step

toward the acceptations of nationalism or socialistic dogma, and a positive impairment of the greatest of nature's boons—absolute freedom to human ambitions and human emulations—and it is this which gives the greatest security to organized society. It is this which makes the charm of the home and the fireside, not a fancied pleasure, but a fixed reality. Man requires the stimulus of self-interest to render him industrious and persevering. He loves not utility merely, but ornament; he possesses a spirit of emulation which makes him endeavor to outstrip his fellows, and a desire to accumulate property even for his own sake.

Classes will always exist in organized society; but these classes should not be the forced result of false and sectional legislation, but should spring from natural causes, such as education, tastes, habits, desires, etc. Such class distinction will alway exist as nature's requirement, being governed by man's individual internal organization.

Fixing the rate of wages by artificial pressure, and not by the natural law of supply and demand, would also be non-effective and incomplete in result, and but a temporary expedient; it would also be sectional in its bearing, not general; it could not increase the demand for labor, but rather, lessen it in effect, by encouraging the productions of other sections to be used and consumed as against home production.

The rate of wage as fixed by combinations is also forced and unnatural; and although it may on

occasion be of temporary benefit, fails of permanency and justice; restraining the stimulus to mechanical superiority, by fixing a uniformity of rate, irrespective of ability, irrespective of actual demand, irrespective of natural superiority.

Create a want, a demand, by a change in the economic system, and it will need no constraints to reach an equitable and a just wage.

VII.

TRUE SOCIAL HAPPINESS.

Beyond a doubt, "true social happiness consists in the harmony and the peaceful possession of the relative enjoyments of each class of people."

To realize this, the people as a whole must be fully employed, and at a wage that would enable them to consume the beauties and the bounties that a generous nature furnishes.

This can be fully attained by the adoption of a system of political economics which will clear away the conditions and injustices of all the old systems. The battle must be fought in the name of the highest truths, against customs, prejudices, egotisms and all the petty interests of the moment. The battle must be for equality of rights, the power of aspiring and obtaining, enjoyed by all individuals. In order to maintain this equality of rights, in order to enable a just political economy, "allowing the people's interests to lead them to supply one another with their reciprocal wants;" in order to maintain a just stimulus to human ambitions and emulations, so as to obtain a higher social economy, the people should be employed by the people in their individuality, and not as comprehended by nationalism under governmental control and direct service.

Governmental active duty should virtually cease, on the adjustment and collection of the necessary tax, which would enable the enforcement and execution of the governmental purposes, provisions and contracts. Direct governmental employ and control of the employees could only result in creating a nation of politicians or partisans; and would destroy the stimulus necessary to obtain a reciprocal exchange value in the industry rendered. Government should be the guiding, not the actual spirit.

The betterment of the conditions of the people should not be demanded as a charity, but as an inalienable right. Pecuniary charity as expressed is a misnomer. It should not be given or taken; it has no right to be wanted. Charity, as expressed, simply evidencing the fact of the injustice and dishonesty of a system which distorts natural prolificness into seeming scarcity, enabling excess to the few, insufficiency to the many. Charity in its essence can only be those noble acts which spring from the soul's desire to assist humankind in nature's developments and exigencies.

The bare mention of the rights of the people under a despotic master was a blasphemy, a downright crime; the same was the case under the feudal systems, so prolific with petty despots. Yet it was from these despotisms that we inherited and still maintain our systems of political economics, which are so rapidly developing into the bane and curse of advanced civilization. Obliterate these systems from

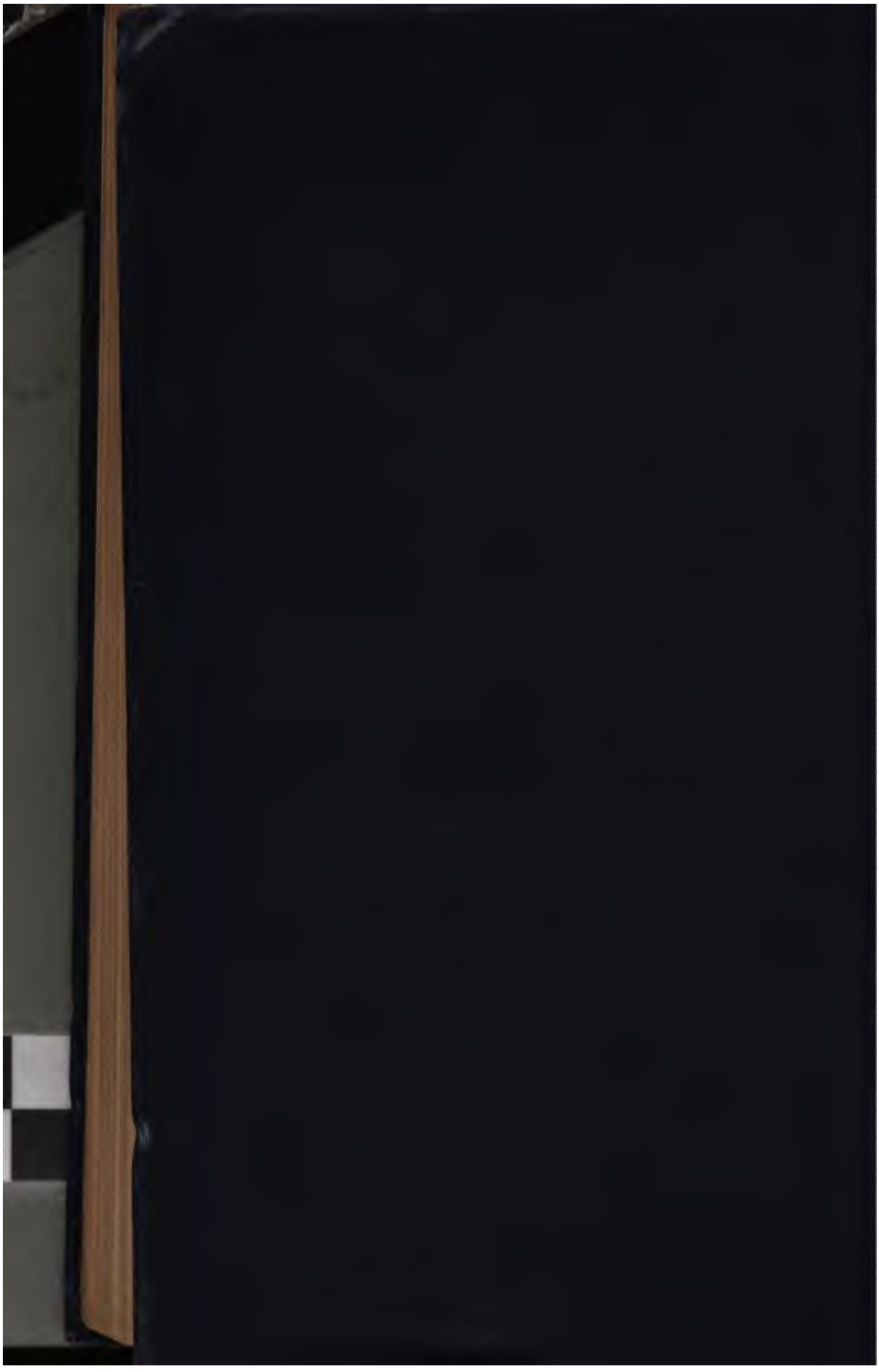
the economics of the age and thereby avoid the social eruption which is closing in upon us, or it can no more be prevented than a physical eruption; when the chemical combinations, necessary to produce the latter are complete it bursts forth. When the social combinations have arrived at maturity the explosion will as surely take place.

All concede that a full employment of the people will absolutely remedy all the evils that the commercial nations are now laboring under; few thoughtful minds will deny, that these evils are the outcome of a false political economy; they differ only as to the method of remedy.

Adopting a new political economy on the base of a single graduated net profit tax (and the abolition of all other methods and measures of taxation) would accomplish the result which all hope and wish for. Equity and justice are its essentials, each subject bearing his just proportion; it need create no hardships on those with large profits, as the final net profits would be in excess of the possibilities of intelligent consumption for future needs or luxuries; it would destroy the desire to hoard large and excessive wealths, which could finally attain such proportion and power as to be destructive to all other individual ambitions and emulations; it would instruct the more fortunate to utilize and enjoy the fruits of their labor, not to hoard for the possibilities of future generations; it would not retard human ambitions and human emulations, society's safeguard; it would

make labor the soul and being of all wealth, sought for, not seeking; it would avoid the centralization of power in the hands of the general government, which power designing or ambitious politicians might subvert to their own uses, and the destruction of the people's liberty; it would cripple the growth of all natures of socialism or anarchism which the present unjust systems of taxation largely develop; it would make a happy people of a discontented people, enabling all to enjoy the fruits of their labor, each according to his ability; it would encourage and maintain a necessary diffusion of the surplus production, enabling a new and just balance; a greater demand for labor to supply, increased wants, increased consumption, and a consequent failure to desire excessive wealths at the expense, comfort and happiness of the many. This would tend to a better life, make man's inhumanity to man a thing of the past, and the glory and happiness of the land, "the pride of its people and a continuous joy."

"For, scarce observed, the knowing and the bold
Fall in the general massacre of gold;
Wide wasting pest, that rages unconfined,
And crowds with crime the record of mankind.

For gold his sword the hireling ruffian draws,
For gold the hireling judge distorts the laws,
Wealth heaped on wealth, nor truth nor safety buys,
The dangers gather as the treasures rise."

Agitation is always healthier than stagnation; stagnation defiles, corrupts and decays; while agita-